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# ORIENTAL MEMOIRS:

A NARRATIVE OF

SEVENTEEN YEARS RESIDENCE IN INDIA.

By JAMES FORBES, F.R.S., &c.

SECOND EDITION,

REVISED BY HIS DAUGHTER,

THE COUNTESS DE MONTALEMBERT.

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OF

## THE SECOND VOLUME.

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# ORIENTAL MEMOIRS.

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## CHAPTER I.

Administration of Justice in Dhuboy—Trial by Panchaut—Sacred Trees in the Durbar Courts—Minutes in the Dhuboy Courts of Justice—Three extraordinary Trials—Infanticide—Suicide common among the young Hindoo Widows—Singular Petition in the Court of Adawlet at Baroche—Remarks on the Devils or Genii mentioned therein—Modes of ascertaining the Guilt of the Accused—Demons in Sacred and Profane History—Hidden Treasure common among the Ancients—Wonderful Accumulation of Asiatic Wealth—Guarded by Serpents—An extraordinary event of this nature in the Dhuboy Purgunna—One similar at Surat—Anecdote of a Naga or Hooded Snake—Ordeal Trials permitted at Dhuboy—Dherna—Koor—Hindoos buried alive—Story of a Suttee, or self-devoted Hindoo Widow reclaimed—Ablutions and other Customs in India—Salt the Symbol and Pledge of Hospitality.

IN a short time after my arrival at Dhuboy, I became tolerably reconciled to its recluse situation, which afforded me very little intercourse with my countrymen: in other respects I was far from leading a solitary life; for the administration of justice, collecting the revenue, superintending the agriculture of five large towns, and a hundred and fifty populous vil-



lages, which were under my care, gave me constant and anxious employment.

I dedicated one day in the week, and more when necessary, to the administration of justice, in which I was assisted by four principal Brahmins; the cazee, and three Mahomedans, conversant in the laws of the Koran; with some respectable merchants, and the heads of other castes. These persons advised me in doubtful cases, and especially on points relating to the religious ceremonies and customs of the Hindoos. The carpet of justice was spread in the large open hall of the durbar, where the arbitrators assembled: there I always attended, and, agreeably to ancient custom, referred the decision to a panchaut, or jury of five persons; two were chosen by the plaintiff, two by the defendant, and the fifth by myself, from among these elders. I had, by this means, the satisfaction of pleasing a hundred thousand inhabitants; who only made one appeal to the superior courts at Baroche or Bombay.

I was delighted with the simplicity of this mode of proceeding. From having been an alderman and sheriff at Bombay, and for some years worn the black gown as a pleader in the courts of justice at that presidency, I was not entirely unacquainted with English law: but had I equalled Blackstone in knowledge of British jurisprudence, it would have availed little among a people completely attached to their own customs, and influenced by the prejudices of caste. I was therefore happy to accommodate myself to their usages. I believe I may truly say, that not a present was ever made to an individual belonging to the adawlet; nor was a court-fee under any description ever exacted.

In the inner court of the durbar, immediately fronting the open side of the hall of justice, was a sacred pepal-tree, and in an adjoining square a noble banyan-tree. These places were esteemed holy while Dhuboy continued under the Peshwa government of Poonah, and a Brahmin pundit resided at the durbar ; on becoming the abode of an Englishman, although the building lost its reputed sanctity, the trees still retained their claim to veneration : they afforded a sort of sacred shade to the Hindoos who were summoned to the adawlet, and proved at least a useful shelter to other castes.

Under their sacred shade the ordeal trials were performed ; the Hindoo witnesses examined ; and the criminals were allowed a solemn pause, while waiting for their trial ; a pause, perhaps, doubly solemn and impressive, from standing under the immediate emblem of the godhead.

I generally kept minutes of the causes which came before me, in case of reference or appeal. They were often trifling, sometimes ludicrous. I shall insert two or three which occurred in the same morning, as characteristic of the singular situation in which I was placed.

A certain blind man, well known in Dhuboy, died during my residence there. Although deprived of one sense, he seemed to enjoy the others in greater perfection ; among various talents he could generally discover hidden treasure, whether buried in the earth, or concealed under water, and possessed the faculty of diving and continuing a long time in that element without inconvenience. As he never commenced a search without stipulating for one-third of the value

restored, he had, by this occupation, maintained an aged father, a wife, and several children. The old man complained, that several persons for whom his son had found money, refused to make good their promise; and particularly a goldsmith, who on being summoned before the court, acknowledged the truth of the story, but thought a third part of the amount too large a proportion. The goldsmith had reprimanded his wife for misconduct: being a woman of spirit, she took the first opportunity of his absence to collect as much of his money and valuables as possible, and throw them, together with herself and her own jewels and ornaments, into a well. As they had not lived very happily together, the goldsmith on his return was not much concerned about his wife, but regretting the loss of his treasure he made diligent search for her body, which was found in an adjoining well, divested of all her ornaments. Surprised and disappointed, he knew not what further to do, when a confidential friend of his wife told him the deceased had taken off her gold chains and jewels, and tying them up in a bag with his own valuables, threw them into another well, but where it was she knew not; having alleged two reasons for her conduct, that he might lose his property, and be deprived of the means of procuring another wife, which he would find difficult without the jewels. The blind man was sent for, and after a long search, found the bag in a distant well, but could not prevail on the goldsmith to give him his share; and since his decease his father had been equally unsuccessful. The court of adawlet decreed him one-third of the property.

Next came two respectable Brahmins, a man and his

wife, of the secular order; who, having no child, had made several religious pilgrimages, performed the accustomed ceremonies to the linga, and consulted the diviners, and recluse devotees, in hopes by their prayers and sacrifices to obtain the desired blessing. A woman skilled in divination promised the wife a son if she would drink a potion composed of the pure essence of jewels. This she consented to, and produced all her pearls, diamonds, and precious stones, which her chemical friend deeming insufficient, persuaded her to borrow more from her relations: these were deposited in a small vase, hermetically sealed, and, with many superstitious ceremonies, placed in a jar of holy water, where it was to remain eight days, without molestation, or the secret being communicated. Two days after this consecration, the woman told the Brahmin's wife she was going to a celebrated temple on the banks of the Nerbudda, to perform some additional ceremonies; if she did not return before the expiration of the time, she might open the vase, and would then discover the jewels under the surface of an essential oil; which she was immediately to swallow, and in due time her wishes would be accomplished. On the appointed day the deluded wife found only an empty vase in the jar of holy water; and learned that her deceiver had fled to a distant country. The unhappy pair now petitioned that I would write to the rajah to deliver the culprit up to justice.

The third in succession was a tandar, or petty officer of a district, who appeared with a banian merchant who had plunged into a well, to drown himself; but having been discovered, timely assistance restored

suspended animation, and he was brought before the court. On being asked his reason for committing this rash action, he coolly replied, that several people owed him considerable sums of money, and would not pay him : whereas he was only indebted to one man, who threatened to imprison him if he did not discharge it ; which being unable to do, and unwilling to act with the same cruelty to his debtors, he thought it better to lose his life than his good name, and therefore resolved to leave them all, and enter upon another stage of existence. This affair was soon compromised to general satisfaction.

Most of the disputes which came before the panchaut at Dhuboy were for infringing the rules of caste, encroachments upon sacred territories, misbehaviour of women, or similar offences ; which were generally settled by the Brahmins. What gave me the greatest trouble and uneasiness, was to prevent, as far as in my power, the suicides frequently committed by young women in a state of pregnancy. A crime generally practised by the higher class of Hindoo widows, who having been married in infancy, and losing their husbands in childhood, were, by the cruel and impolitic laws of Menu, prevented from marrying a second husband, and consequently led into imprudences. Some of these unfortunate females, conscious of bringing disgrace on their family, thus terminated their own existence and that of their unborn infant ; their bodies were often found in the public wells of the city, and villages in the purgunna, but none of the Brahmins in the panchaut, nor any Hindoo officer, took the smallest trouble to prevent these shocking

occurrences. The suicides were at last so frequent, that I was under the necessity of issuing an order, to be affixed at the market-place and city gates, that the body of any female found in a well or tank within the Dhuboy districts, should be exposed naked for twenty-four hours before it was taken to the funeral pile. This had so far the desired effect, that after the proclamation of the edict, either no more suicides were committed, or they were carefully concealed from my knowledge, as I never had occasion to make an exposure. Suicide is not only sanctioned among the Hindoos, but on certain occasions is deemed meritorious. Major Moor mentions, that among the five most eligible modes, is that of going into the sea near the mouth of the Ganges, and there praying and confessing sin, until the alligator or some other monster devours the penitent.

While writing on this subject, I shall insert a singular petition presented to me when acting judge in the court of Adawlet at Baroche; which, however ludicrous or trifling it may appear to an European, strongly characterizes the superstition of the Indians, and the difficulty of accommodating English laws to a people under such extraordinary prejudices, and who believe in a race of beings whose existence we do not admit of. I shall only premise that the heroine of the story was the wife of a rich and eminent merchant at Baroche, of a very respectable family among the Parsees; and that all the persons necessarily convened to investigate this mysterious affair, were astonished at my entertaining any doubts about it.

“ To JAMES FORBES, Esq.

*Presiding in the Court of Adawlet, at Baroche.*

The humble petition of Ruttonjee-Monackjee, a Parsee merchant, inhabitant of Baroche,

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your petitioner, with all respect and submission, begs leave to represent to your worship, that Framjee Nanabhy's wife and your petitioner's daughter were for many years intimate friends, and lived near each other in this city.

Some time ago the said Framjee's wife had two devils entered into her body, which devils were sisters. One day your petitioner's daughter went to her friend's house, when she found her burning frankincense on a fire, and performing some magical ceremonies; soon afterwards the devils began to speak, and angrily asked why they were called up; telling her at the same time that their sacrifices had been neglected and their daily offerings of flowers, cocoanuts, and fruit, discontinued. The devils then vehemently cried out, “for this we will destroy, we will kill, we will eat.” On which Framjee's wife immediately made the proper offerings at the altar of the devils, and promised no more to offend. The devils then declared they were satisfied, and shewed your petitioner's daughter much amusement; and the said Framjee's wife, by means of the devils within her body, performed many conjuring tricks, and curious exploits, with which your petitioner's daughter was greatly delighted.

It is however well known to your petitioner, and all who enter into these mysteries, that Framjee's wife committed a great fault in performing these ceremonies before a stranger, who had not been initiated, and which she had been enjoined to keep secret. For this reason, and because your petitioner's daughter had been present at those magical rites, one of the devils left Framjee's wife, and entered into your petitioner's daughter; who, on coming home from that visit, fell down upon the bed, without sense or motion, and continued in that state for some hours. On coming to herself, her parents inquired the cause of her illness: she answered she could not tell; and sunk again into silence and stupidity.

In this melancholy situation your petitioner's daughter continued for two months; at the expiration of which time she told her friends that a devil from Framjee's wife had entered her body, and tormented her for food and sacrifices; saying she would destroy her if she did not furnish every thing necessary, as Framjee's wife had supplied both her and her sister; that if she would treat her in all respects as her sister was treated, she never would hurt her, because the devils were sisters, and there must be no difference in their treatment. From that day the devil in your petitioner's daughter was supplied with necessaries and sacrifices to her liking, and all remained in peace and quietness.

Some time afterwards, as Framjee and his wife were sitting at home together, the latter burnt incense, and performed the usual ceremonies to call up her devil: she accordingly made her appearance; when



Framjee desired her to cause the devil, which had so long been in your petitioner's daughter, to come and dwell again in the body of his wife. On which the devil replied that her sister could not leave your petitioner's daughter, who now treated her with good things, and performed her daily sacrifices.

Your petitioner has likewise a female relation, named Johye, who is skilled in these mysteries, and understands all the conjuring business; she was a great friend to Framjee's wife, but because she would not assist her in getting the devil to leave your petitioner's daughter, and return into her own body, she quarrelled with the said Johye, and accused her falsely before your worship, in the Court of Adawlet, of having performed certain magical ceremonies, by which she almost conjured her only son to death. On Framjee's son being carried on his bed to your garden house, and shown to you in those dreadful fits, which left him without any appearance of life, you was pleased to hear all the stories and accusations of Framjee and his wife against the said Johye, and to order her to be confined in the chowkey of the adawlet until the next court day, when she is to be tried upon this false accusation.

But your petitioner begs leave to say, that this is all a false story against the said Johye; for it is God who has been pleased to afflict Framjee's son with a sickness almost unto death; and it is not in the power of Johye to cure him, although Framjee has assured you that she can; and you have, in consequence of his assertion, ordered her to take off the spell, and to effect his cure. And further, as your petitioner knows that his daughter will die whenever the devil leaves

her body, he begs leave to inform you, that the said Johye cannot assist Framjee's wife in calling her out, and sending her again into her own body.

This being the case with respect to the said Johye, your petitioner requests that you will be pleased to release her from confinement, as she will be bound for her appearance next court day in the Adawlet; together with her son Hormuz, whom Framjee has also accused of being an accomplice in this conjuring business.

And your petitioner will ever pray for your long life and happiness.

RUTTONJEE MONACKJEE.

*Baroche, 8th January, 1782.*

As the spirits in the original petition are called devils, and I did not choose to alter any part of this singular production, so I have inserted that term, and copied it in all other respects from the petition which was presented to me as judge in the public court; but I believe the original word means those genii, or spirits, who form a class of middle beings in the creed of most Indians, whether Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Parsees. Every Persian and Arabian tale is embellished with their adventures. The Mahomedans firmly believe in their agency; and the Hindoos are taught that two of these genii attend upon every mortal, from the moment of his existence until his death; that to the one is committed the record of his good actions; to the other the report of his transgressions, at the tribunal appointed for judgment.

All history, ancient and modern, presents grounds for these phænomena: the Scriptures of the Old and

New Testament clearly assert the fact, as in the case of Saul with the woman of Endor, and in many other passages. That such demons existed in our Saviour's time none can doubt; had they not been common among the heathen nations in preceding ages, the Israelites would not have had these solemn injunctions. "There shall not be found among you any one that useth divination, or is an observer of times, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a necromancer; for all that do these things are an abomination to the Lord." Deuteronomy, ch. xviii. ver. 10—12.

Dr. Francis Buchanan mentions a man who was supposed to be possessed by one of these evil spirits in Mysore, which caused great uproar in the village, and was at length appeased by the Brahmins' prayers, and strewing consecrated ashes over the invalid. Dr. Buchanan proves that this man was subject to the epilepsy, and that the recurrence of the fit had been occasioned by a violent paroxysm of intoxication. That I have no doubt was the cause in this instance, but I am of opinion that the effects I have alluded to, proceeded from other causes, although I cannot undertake to explain them. The petition of the Parsee merchant was entered on the records of the court of Adawlet at Baroche, and I preserved it among my manuscripts, on account of the impression it then made upon my mind, and the agitation it caused in a large city, inhabited by many thousand Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Parsees, widely differing in religious sentiments, but uniting in the belief of this supernatural agency. When these facts are compared with many other circumstances, more or less connected with them, throughout these volumes, respecting the ignorance, super-

stition, and prejudices of the natives in general, their introduction may perhaps not be thought irrelevant to the subject of Indian jurisprudence.

Since the commencement of this selection from my original manuscripts, I have endeavoured to omit such passages as did not appear generally interesting; and by abridging others as much as possible, to avoid prolixity. But if a writer on foreign countries were to suppress every thing which could not be brought to the standard of reason, and to withhold local anecdotes, apparently trifling, which often very strongly mark the national and individual character, his narrative would be comparatively dull, and want that zest which distinguishes the traveller from the sedentary composer: at the same time it must be allowed, that after a long series of years, the traveller who wrote from first impressions, and committed to paper all that then engaged his attention, will find it necessary to expunge many incidents which at the time were interesting to himself, though at a subsequent period they might not be deemed so by general readers.

Lord Teignmouth, President of the Royal Court, after the death of Sir William Jones, introduces a story from the judicial records, in which five women were put to death for the supposed practice of sorcery, and adds that, "to ascertain with a degree of certainty the persons guilty of practising witchcraft, the three following modes are adopted: First, branches of the saul tree, marked with the names of all the females in the village, whether married or unmarried, who have attained the age of twelve years, are planted in the water in the morning, for the space of four hours and a half; and the withering of any of these branches is

proof of witchcraft against the person whose name is annexed to it. Secondly, small portions of rice enveloped in cloths, marked as above, are placed in a nest of white ants; the consumption of the rice in any of the bags, establishes sorcery against the woman whose name it bears. Thirdly, lamps are lighted at night; water is placed in cups made of leaves, and mustard-seed oil is poured, drop by drop, into the water, whilst the name of each woman in the village is pronounced; the appearance of the shadow of any woman on the water during this ceremony, proves her a witch."

Homer asserts the antiquity of sorcery in several instances, and especially in the most ancient of all denominations, the evocation of the dead, by customs and ceremonies, similar perhaps to those used by the infernal agent for calling up Samuel at the desire of Saul; and Dacier proves, that this kind of necromancy prevailed before Homer's time, among the Chaldeans, and spread over all the oriental world. Æschylus introduces it in his tragedy of Persa; and thus it appears that there was a foundation for what Homer writes, and that he only embellishes the opinions of antiquity with the ornaments of poetry.

From the story of Saul and the woman of Endor, there can be no doubt of the general belief and practice of this kind of necromancy in Palestine, derived most probably from the surrounding nations. In that instance we find the woman herself had a familiar spirit; and by that means obtained the power of conversing with departed spirits [from the human body]. Harmer, on this singular subject, says, "the sacred and profane writers, believing the reality of the same thing, use exactly the same language, and apply the same

terms in precisely the same sense. An afflicted father brings his wretched son to our blessed Lord, and thus in accosting him describes the case of the child: Master, I beseech thee, look upon my son, for he is mine only child; and lo, a spirit taketh him, and he suddenly crieth out; and it teareth him, that he foameth again; and bruising him, hardly departeth from him." St. Luke, ch. ix. ver. 38, 39.

That the same form of speech is used by heathen writers, and the same effects described, when they speak of supernatural influence, the following account from Herodotus will make sufficiently evident. Speaking of Scyles, king of the Scythians, who, having received a Grecian education, was more attached to the customs of the Greeks than to those of his own countrymen, and who desired to be privately initiated into the Bacchic mysteries, he adds, "Now because the Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of these bacchanals, and say, that to imagine a god driving men into paroxysms of madness is not agreeable to reason, a certain Borysthenian, while the king was privately performing the ceremonies, went out, and discovered the matter to the Scythian army in these words: 'Ye Scythians ridicule us because we celebrate the mysteries of Bacchus, and the god possesseth us; but now this same *demon* (*δαιμων*) possesseth your king, and he performs the part of a Bacchanalian, and is filled with fury by the god.'—HERODOTUS.

This passage is truly remarkable. The identical expressions used by the Evangelist are also used by Herodotus. A demon, (*δαιμων*), or spirit, is the agent in the Greek historian, and in the case mentioned in the text; in both cases it is said the demon takes

or possesses the persons, and the very same word *λαμβάνει* is used to express this circumstance by both historians. They both also represent these possessions as real, by the effects produced in the persons. The heathen king rages with fury through the influence of the demon, called the god Bacchus ; the person in the text screams out, is greatly convulsed, and foams at the mouth. The case in the Sacred Text was certainly a real possession ; and therefore when the Jews saw that by the superior power of Christ, the demon was expelled, they were all astonished at the majesty of God !

Virgil has left us a description of a demoniacal possession of this kind, where the effects are nearly similar :

“ ——— ait, deus, ecce, deus ! cui talia fanti  
 Ante fores, subito non vultus, non color unus,  
 Non comptæ mansère comæ ; sed pectus anhelum,  
 Et rabie fera corda tument : majorque videri,  
 Nec mortale sonans : afflata est numine quando  
 Jam propiore Dei ———  
 At Phœbi nondum patiens immanis in antro  
 Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit  
 Excussisse deum. Tanto magis ille fatigat  
 Os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premeudo.”

ÆNEID 6.

Dr. Townson, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in 1783, a man most illustrious for learning and piety, on a special occasion, composed and used the following prayer by the desire of the sufferer :

“ O Almighty and everlasting God ; whose blessed Son Jesus Christ did give to his Apostles, and other ministers of his word, power over unclean spirits, grant, O Lord, that if any evil spirits have afflicted

this thy servant, they may be driven away from him, and be suffered no more to hurt or come near him. *Hear, O Lord, our humble supplication in the name and through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.*"

Soon after my appointment to Dhuboy, I witnessed an extraordinary occurrence, and committed the particulars to paper a few hours after it happened.

The discovery of money and jewels, concealed in receptacles within the thick walls and subterraneous cells in oriental houses, is well known ; such treasures are also frequently found in obscure spots in fields and gardens. A town is seldom conquered without such a discovery ; and it is not uncommon to find similar deposits in the country. That these concealments were believed among the ancients, we learn from many historians, especially from an anecdote in Tacitus, respecting Nero becoming the dupe of fortune, and incurring the derision of the public, from giving credence to the visionary schemes of Cæcellius Bassus, a native of Carthage ; a man of a crazed imagination, who relied on whatever occurred to him in his distempered dreams.\* In India, from time immemorial, it has been the custom for sovereigns and great men to make immense collections of gold and precious stones. The treasures belonging to some of the ancient Hindoo rajahs almost exceed belief. Nadir Shah's plunder at the court of Delhi excites our wonder ; and the treasures of the late Tipoo Sultaun afford a recent instance of these accumulations. The Iliad and Odyssey abound with descriptions of royal wealth ; and Sacred History

\* Tac. Ann. xvi. 1—3.



informs us, that Hezekiah, king of Judah, shewed the ambassadors of the Babylonish monarch all the house of his precious things ; the silver, the gold, and the spices ; the precious ointments, and all the house of his armour.—2 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 13.

But what comes nearest to the point in my own adventure is, an anecdote related by d'Herbelot, of a Persian king who, from want of attention to his finances, was reduced to great difficulties, and knew not how to replenish his exhausted exchequer. Walking one day in an unfrequented part of his palace, he saw a snake put his head out of a hole in the wall ; on which he ordered it to be killed. His attendants accordingly broke down a part of the wall, in search of the serpent ; it eluded their vigilance, but, in so doing, they discovered a secret receptacle, containing treasure to a great amount, which had been concealed there by another prince, and relieved the monarch from his necessities.

During a journey from Baroche to Dhuboy, I stopped, with a small escort, for water and refreshments at Nurrah, a large ruined village about six miles from the capital. It had been plundered and burnt not long before, by the Mahratta cavalry, when General Goddard took Dhuboy. The principal house at Nurrah, a mansion far beyond the general style of Hindoo buildings, had belonged to a man of family and opulence, who emigrated during the war, and died in a distant country ; the house and gardens were then in a state of desolation. I received private information, that under a particular tower in this mansion was a secret cell, known only to the owner and the mason who constructed it ; that very man gave me the intelligence ;

adding, it was purposely formed to contain his treasure without the knowledge of his family, and was afterwards closed with strong masonry.

We accompanied the informer through several spacious courts and extensive apartments, in a state of dilapidation, until we came to a dark closet in a tower, at one corner of the mansion: this was a room about eight feet square, the diameter of the interior of the tower, some stories above the supposed receptacle of the treasure. In the floor of this closet we observed a hole in the bricks and chunam, of which it was composed, sufficiently large for a slender person to pass through. We enlarged the opening, and sent down two men by a ladder. After descending several feet they came to another chunam floor, with a similar aperture; this also being enlarged and torches procured, I perceived from the upper room that it was a gloomy dungeon of great depth. I desired the men to enter it and search for the treasure, which they positively refused, alleging that throughout Hindostan, wherever money was concealed, there existed one of the genii, in the mortal form of a snake, to guard it. I laughed at their credulity, and enforced the order for their immediate descent with some energy. My attendants sympathized in their feelings, and, under a deep impression of fear, seemed to wait the event in a sort of awful expectation. The ladder being too short to reach the floor of this subterraneous cell, I ordered strong ropes and additional torches to assist their descent. They at length reluctantly complied, and by the lights held in their hands, during a slow progress down the ropes, we could distinguish,

through the gloom, the dark sides and moist floor of the dungeon. They had not been many seconds in search of the treasure, when they called out vehemently that they were enclosed with a large snake, and their cries, ascending from this dismal abyss, were most horrible. I still remained incredulous, and would not suffer the ropes for facilitating their escape to be lowered until I had seen the serpent. Their screams were dreadful, and my resolution inflexible ; until at length, by keeping the upper lights steady, I perceived something like billets of wood, or rather more resembling a ship's cable coiled up in a dark hold, seen from the deck ; but no language can express my sensations of astonishment and terror, when I beheld a horrid monster rear his head, over an immense length of body, coiled in volumes on the ground ; and working itself into exertion by a sort of sluggish motion. What I felt on seeing two fellow creatures exposed by my orders to this "fiend of vengeful nature," may be more easily conceived than expressed. There was not a moment for reflection ; down went the ropes, and we drew up the panting terrified wretches speechless ; but, to my inexpressible joy, no otherwise affected than by the cold perspiration and death-like state produced by fear, which soon subsided. Some hay being then thrown down upon the lighted torches left in the cavern, consumed the mortal part of the guardian genius, as we afterwards took up the scorched and lifeless body of a large snake ; but, notwithstanding a minute search, no money could be found. The proprietor had doubtless carried off his treasure when he fled to a foreign country. As the cells in the tower were all very small

and deep, and the walls of strong masonry, it appears wonderful how this snake had subsisted. Toads have been discovered alive in the centre of large blocks of marble, without any aperture, and in the midst of a solid trunk of oak ; how either those reptiles, or the coluber genii of India, live in their singular abode, I must leave to the investigation of the curious.

My upper servant, then with me at Nurrah, was of the Parsee tribe ; an intelligent man, unprejudiced, and not tinctured with superstition. He told me that one of his countrymen at Surat, in repairing a house a few years before, had found a considerable sum of money in a similar receptacle ; guarded in the same manner by a large cobra di capello, of which several persons were witnesses. This Parsee was a man of consequence, and head-broker to the Dutch factory at Surat. Such an accumulation of wealth made a great noise in the city ; but instead of destroying the extraordinary centinel, he brought it a bason of milk, and burnt incense, which caused it to retire while he removed the treasure ; one half of which he wisely presented to the nabob, and dedicated part of the remainder to charitable purposes. After this adventure he was considered to be a lucky man, and prospered in all his undertakings.

I wished very much for one of the ancient psylli, or a modern snake-charmer, in my train at Nurrah, to have called forth the serpent, who had guarded the treasure confided to his care until its owner most probably carried it away, but forgot to liberate the centinel. Having acted faithfully in his trust, his life ought to have been spared. I have mentioned the power of music over the dancing-snakes at Bombay,

and the fatal accident which ensued there : I have since had many opportunities of witnessing the effect of these charmers upon the serpents in Guzerat ; my garden at Dhuboy was infested with them, and I have every reason to believe they were attracted from it to follow these musicians. It may appear extraordinary in Europe, but as I have already observed, there is an allusion to it in the Hebrew poetry ; and the ancients were doubtless well acquainted with their power, if any such they possess. Medea is said to have charmed, by the melody of her voice, the dragon which guarded the golden fleece ; and similar effects are mentioned in Virgil's *Æneid* :

“ Vipereo generi, et graviter spirantibus hydriis  
Spargere, qui somnos cantûque manûque solebat,  
Mulcebatque iras, et morsus arte levabat.

“ His wand and holy words the viper's rage,  
And venom'd wound of serpents could assuage.”

DRYDEN'S VIRGIL.

Herodotus mentions that in the vicinity of Thebes there were sacred serpents not at all troublesome to men ; and also in the citadel of Athens a large serpent in the temple which continually defended it ; and of this they had such an entire conviction, that they offered it every month cakes of honey, which were always consumed.

Dr. Buchanan, describing his journey through the Mysore, says that he was shewn the pit where Sedasiva, who flourished there in the fifteenth century, and erected a temple to Iswara at Kilida, found a treasure, and a sword, which were the commencement of his

good fortune. "To this spot he was conducted by a naga, or hooded serpent, sent for the purpose by some propitious deity. While Sedasiva was asleep in a field, the naga came, and shaded his head from the sun, by raising up as an umbrella its large flat neck. The young man was awaked by a shriek from his mother, who in looking after her son found him under the power of the monster. He immediately started up to escape, but was opposed by the serpent, until he consented to follow it quietly, and was conducted to the place where the treasure was hid. Here the snake began to bite the ground, and make signs; at length Sedasiva, having dug into the earth, found a cave filled with treasure, and containing a sword. Such are the fables by which the Hindoo chiefs endeavour to gain the admiration and respect of their countrymen, whose credulity indeed renders the means very adequate to the end proposed."

Among other curious circumstances in my administration of justice at Dhuboy, I was sometimes obliged to admit of the ordeal trial, of which I have related all the particular ceremonies in my chapter on the Malabar coast, and on Baroche, where it is so generally practiced. During my abode among the northern Hindoos, I found it likewise universally credited, and more or less followed under all the governments in Guzerat, particularly that by boiling oil. In one instance a man was accused of stealing a child covered with jewels, which is a common mode of adorning infants among the wealthy Hindoos. Many circumstances appeared against him, on which he demanded the ordeal: it was a measure to which I was very averse, but at the particular

request of the Hindoo arbitrators, who sat on the carpet of justice, and especially at the earnest entreaty of the child's parents, I consented. A cauldron of boiling oil was brought into the durbar, and after a short ceremony by the Brahmins, the accused person, without shewing any anxiety, dipped his hand to the bottom, and took out a small silver coin, which I still preserve in remembrance of this transaction. He did not appear to have sustained any damage, or to suffer the smallest pain ; but the process went on no further, as the parents declared themselves perfectly convinced of his innocence.

The practice called *Dherna* is not only known, but used in many places in Guzerat ; it appears to me as singular as any custom among the Bhauts, or any other extraordinary people among whom my lot was cast ; and seldom did a day pass without my hearing something extraordinary concerning them. As I cannot describe the *dherna* from my own experience, I shall introduce Lord Teignmouth's account of it, as another instance of the wonderful power the Brahmins have obtained over the minds of the Hindoos.

“ The inviolability of the Brahmin is a fixed principle of the Hindoos ; and to deprive him of life, either by direct violence, or by causing his death in any mode, is a crime which admits of no expiation. To this principle may be traced the practice called *dherna*, which may be translated *caption*, or *arrest*. It is used by the Brahmins to gain a point which cannot be accomplished by any other means ; and the process is as follows. The Brahmin who adopts this expedient for the purpose mentioned, proceeds to the door or house of the person against whom it is directed, or

wherever he may most conveniently intercept him ; he there sits down in *dherma*, with poison, or a poignard, or some other instrument of suicide, in his hand : and threatening to use it if his adversary should attempt to molest or pass him, he thus completely arrests him. In this situation the Brahmin fasts ; and by the rigour of the etiquette, the unfortunate object of his arrest ought also to fast ; and thus they both remain until the institutor of the *dherma* obtains satisfaction. In this, as he seldom makes the attempt without resolution to persevere, he rarely fails ; for if the party thus arrested were to suffer the Brahmin sitting in *dherma*, to perish by hunger, the sin would for ever lie upon his head. This practice has been less frequent of late years, since the institution of the court of justice at Benares in 1783 ; but the interference of that court, and even that of the resident there, has occasionally proved insufficient to check it ; as it has been deemed in general most prudent to avoid for this purpose the use of coercion, from an apprehension that the first appearance of it might drive the sitter in *dherma* to suicide. The discredit of the act would not only fall upon the officers of justice, but upon the government itself. The practice of sitting in *dherma* is not confined to male brahmins only ; females of the same tribe often perform it."

The same intelligent writer mentions another singular and cruel custom called the *koor*. "This term is explained to mean a circular pile of wood, which is prepared ready for conflagrations ; upon this, sometimes a cow, sometimes an old woman, is placed by the constructors of the pile ; and the whole is consumed toge-



ther. The object of this practice is to intimidate the officers of government, or others, from importunate demands; as the effect of the sacrifice is supposed to involve in great sin the person whose conduct forces the constructor of the koor to this expedient. A woman who had been placed upon the *Khoor* in a dispute between three Brahmins in the province of Benares, was saved by the timely interposition of authority, and the attainment of the object by the temporary intimidation. She was summoned to appear before the English superintendant of the province, but absolutely refused to attend him; declaring that she would throw herself into the first well, rather than submit. She was nearly blind from age, and the summons was not enforced."

Many other extraordinary customs prevailed in the purgunnas under my charge; which I do not particularize, from a consciousness that in England they would have a very suspicious appearance.

The cremation of Hindoo widows with the bodies of their deceased husbands, is now no longer doubted; but, it is more difficult to believe, that men in the prime of life, and surrounded by every blessing, should voluntarily desire to immolate themselves to their deities, and be buried alive; which is no uncommon sacrifice among the tribe of Gosannees and other Hindoo devotees. A short time before I took charge of Dhuboy, a young man insisted on being interred alive near the temple at the Gate of Diamonds; and soon afterwards another performed the same sacrifice about half a mile without the English districts, because I refused him permission to do it in his native village; for neither is this self-immolation, the cremation of women, nor any other act of suicide, allowed within

the Company's territories. These solemn sacrifices are always performed in the presence of many witnesses, and during the celebration of various religious rites and ceremonies by the Brahmins.

On such a sacrifice being announced, a large crowd assemble ; a round pit is dug, of a depth sufficient for a man to stand upright, into which the self-devoted victim descends, and the earth is gradually thrown on, until it entirely covers him. A tomb of solid masonry is immediately erected over his head, and solemn rites and flowery offerings are performed at stated periods, in memory of a saint who is supposed to have rendered an acceptable sacrifice to the destructive power, or some other deity in the Hindoo mythology.

In some particular castes, the Hindoo widows, instead of burning themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, are buried alive with the dead body. The deluded female, with the utmost composure, seats herself near the deceased in an upright posture ; when the earth is gently filled around her, until it reaches her mouth ; it is then thrown on in large quantities, that she may be the sooner suffocated.

Instances occur of the Suttee, or Hindoo widow, who has thus devoted herself to death, being reclaimed ; but they are very uncommon. Sir Charles Malet communicated to me an event of this kind, which happened during his embassy at Poonah, on the 5th of September 1792, as related in the following extract from his diary.

“ An extraordinary incident happened this day. A sepoy of my guard, of the *Mharatta*, or *Columbee* tribe, died ; his wife immediately declared herself a suttee ; that is, resolved to devote herself to the

flames with his body: she accordingly assumed the yellow garment, the turban, the mirror, and all other insignia usual on such occasions. When informed of her resolution, I desired the officer of the guard, Captain H——, to endeavour to divert the suttee from her intention, and in case of failure to acquaint me with the result. He soon communicated his despair of success, and I desired her to be brought to me.

“ I found her a healthy young woman, about twenty-two years of age, in a state of mind firmly resolved on sacrificing herself with her dead husband, whom she incessantly and passionately invoked, with every endearing expression. The scene was singular and affecting: I scarce knew how to commence the difficult task of soothing grief so poignant, or of diverting a resolution founded on despair. In the course of my endeavours I found the poor suttee had no relations at Poonah; her father and mother lived in her native village, at some distance. I discovered likewise that her husband's death had exposed her to the dread of absolute distress. The first subject furnished a strong counteracting power to the passionate grief that possessed her mind, and by proper application awakened a new sensation: which, followed up, produced a flood of tears, the first symptom of relaxation from determined grief. A counteracting passion being thus excited, the dread of distress was soothed by assurances, properly introduced, of maintenance in the means of devoting her future life to the discharge of religious ceremonies at the shrine of her household gods, in honour of her husband's memory? which would be more grateful to the gods, and acceptable to him, than sacrificing herself on his pyreal pile.

“After these and a variety of other arguments, which occupied nearly three hours, in the course whereof gentle restraint was sometimes imposed on occasional fits of passion and anguish, she was at length persuaded to suspend her fatal purpose until the arrival of her parents; to whom a messenger was dispatched in her presence, with a letter, and money for the expenses of their journey to the capital. The Hindoos attach the merit of the most sublime and holy heroism to this self-devotion; but the resolution once suspended, is seldom resumed, and was not in the present instance.

“I am sorry to remark, that I really believe the Hindoo spectators were rather grieved and mortified, than pleased at our success in saving this poor creature from the flames.”

I am not certain whether the Hindoos have any religious ceremony, or libation, before their meals, like the libamina of the Romans, or the Christian's grace; that ablution precedes their repast is well known; it is also introduced among the Mahomedans, and adopted by some Europeans. Although, after a dusty journey among the Hindoo villages in my districts, I might neither drink out of their cups, nor wash my hands in their basons, yet would the women gently pour water from their jars into my hands, contracted into the form of a cup; and held sloping to the mouth: this is a common method for the Indians of different castes to take water from each other. Pouring water over the hands to wash, instead of dipping them into a bason, has been always an oriental custom; we frequently meet with it in ancient manners. Elisha

poured water upon the hands of his master Elijah : Moses washed Aaron with water, and poured the anointing oil upon his head, to sanctify him. When I dined with the Dutch governor at Cochin, three female slaves, neatly dressed, attended each of the guests before the dinner was put on the table ; one girl held a silver bason decked with flowers, to contain the water, which another poured upon his hands, from a silver vase ; and a third offered a clean napkin on a salver. At the English tables two servants attend after dinner, with a gindey and cwer, of silver or white copper ; the former is adorned with fresh-gathered flowers, stuck in a perforated cover, to conceal the water which is poured from the latter over the hands of each guest.

Whether the Hindoos annex any sacred idea to salt, I am not certain ; the Mahomedans assuredly do throughout Asia. It is common among all the castes of India, and adopted by the English, to say of an ungrateful or perfidious man, that " he is not worth his salt." It is a sacred pledge of hospitality among all the followers of the Prophet. Numerous instances occur of travellers in Arabia, after being plundered and stripped by the wandering tribes of the desert, claiming the protection of some civilized Arab, who, after once receiving him into his tent, and giving him salt, instantly relieves his distress, and never forsakes his guest until he is placed in safety. The tale of the forty thieves in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, presents a singular instance of the effect of eating salt, even in the mind of a robber and a murderer.

This Arabian story is confirmed by a real anecdote in d'Herbelot, of Jacob ben Laith, then a celebrated robber, but afterwards the founder of a dynasty of Persian monarchs, called Soffarides; who in one of his exploits having broken into the royal palace, and collected a large booty, was on the point of carrying it off, when he found his foot kick against something which made him stumble. Imagining it might be an article of value, he put it to his mouth, the better to distinguish it. On tasting he found it was a lump of salt, the symbol and pledge of hospitality; on which, he was so touched, that he retired immediately without carrying away any part of the spoil. The next morning occasioned the greatest surprise in the palace; Jacob was taken up and brought before the prince, to whom he gave a faithful account of the whole transaction, and by this means so ingratiated himself with his sovereign, that he employed him, as a man of courage and genius, in many arduous enterprizes; in which he was so successful as to be raised to the command of his troops; whose confidence and affection to their general, made them, on the prince's death, prefer his interest to that of the heir to the throne, from whence he afterwards spread his extensive conquests.

Salt was equally emblematical and sacred among the Greeks; Homer says, "they sprinkle sacred salt from lifted urns."

"With water purify their hands, and take  
The sacred offering of the salted cake."

ILIAD.

Drinking water in an Arab's tent has the same good effect as eating salt. It was so in the time of the Crusades, when the Sultaun Saladine allowed his prisoner *Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, to drink water in his presence; on the captive monarch offering the cup to one of his lords, equally thirsty, the Sultaun prevented his drinking, because he meant to put him to death.*

## CHAPTER II.

General State of Agriculture in Guzerat—Morning Beauties in India—Best Mode of Preserving Health—Guzerat Villages described—Tanks and Wells—Hospitality to Travellers in Guzerat—Peasantry—Right of Landed Property—Mode of Cultivation, and Appropriation of the Produce—Massaulchee—Illustration of a Parable—Washerman—Cullies, or Farm-Yards—Oppression of the Zemindars—Hindoo and Mosaic Charities—Unfavourable Traits in the Brahmin Character, and the Hindoo Religion—Human Sacrifices—Contrasted with Christianity—Jaghires and different Tenures in Guzerat—Scale of Oriental Despotism—Mahratta Cruelty in the Sheep-skin Death—Hindoo Bill of Sale of Land—Lease of Land at Baroche.

THE administration of justice, collection of the revenues, and superintendence of the districts under my charge, especially during the seasons of seed-time and harvest, required frequent excursions into the country, and afforded me an opportunity of observing the state of agriculture in the Guzerat province, and the manners and customs of the peasants in some of its remote purgunnas. In that delightful part of Hindostan are “no antres vast, nor deserts idle;” all is fertility and plenty; the soil, generally rich and loamy, produces valuable harvests of batty,



juarree, bahjeree, and other grain, with cotton, shrubs for oil, and plants for dying. Many parts yield a double crop, particularly the rice and cotton-fields, which are both planted at the commencement of the rainy season, in June. The cotton shrub, which grows to the height of three or four feet, and in verdure resembles the currant-bush, requires some months to bring its delicate produce to perfection. It is planted between the rows of rice, which does not impede its growth, or prevent its being reaped. Soon after the rice harvest is over, the cotton-bushes put forth a beautiful yellow flower, with a crimson eye in each petal; this is succeeded by a green pod filled with a white stringy pulp; the pod turns brown and hard as it ripens, and then separates into two or three divisions, containing the cotton. A luxuriant field, exhibiting at the same time the expanding blossom, the bursting capsule, and the snowy flakes of ripe cotton, is one of the most beautiful objects in the agriculture of Hindostan. Herodotus says, the Indians, in his time, possessed a kind of plant, which instead of fruit, produced wool of a finer and better quality than that of sheep, of which the natives made their clothes: this plant was no doubt the same as the modern cotton of India (*gossypium*, Lin.). The medium price of this valuable commodity when I was at Baroche and Dhuboy was from seventy to eighty rupees the candy, or from eight to nine pounds sterling for seven hundred and forty English pounds weight of cotton. Batty, or rice, from eight to ten rupees a culsey, a weight, as I before stated, equal to six hundred pounds: most of the other grains in Guzerat were of a similar value.

Juarree, or cush-cush, (*holcus-sorghum*, Lin.) is a fine large grain, growing to the height of eight or ten feet: each ear contains many hundred seeds, sometimes two thousand; the stem generally bears more than one head of corn, but the uppermost is always one of those royal ears, which, like the largest head of the heliotrope, greatly exceeds the rest in size and beauty. This grain in many respects resembles the maiz and guinea-corn, and forms a chief article of food in the Guzerat province.

Bahjeree (*holcus spicatus*, Lin.) is another valuable grain, growing in the manner of the juarree; of an inferior size, and only eaten by the poor. Providence has been peculiarly bountiful to the natives of Guzerat, in a variety of other useful grains. Codra, chena, buntée, and bowtah, all of a nutritious quality, and grateful to the peasants, are planted in June, and the harvest is finished in September: they are generally two or three feet high; when ripe, their golden, purple, and varied tints, give the country a rich appearance; as do the leguminous classes, of tuar, mutt, gram, and other pulses. Tuar (*cytiscus cajan*, Lin.) when taken from the skin, like the split pea, is called dohl, and forms, with rice, a principal part of the best Indian dishes. Mutt, and gram, (*dolichos-biflorus*, Lin.) are the most nutritious food for cattle: the Guzerat cows are very fond of the capaussia, or cotton-seed; it makes them give abundance of rich milk, and costs only four or five rupees the culsey. The large villages breed a number of milch-cows and buffaloes, as ghee, or clarified butter, for foreign consumption is a principal staple in the Guzerat markets. They also rear the best oxen for the service of the

vanjarrahs, or merchants, so often mentioned, who travel with large caravans of these animals; they are also bred in many parts of Hindostan, for the purpose of transporting salt and other merchandize from the sea-coasts, to the interior towns at a distance. They will carry a load, according to their size and strength, from two to three hundred pounds, and travel ten or twelve miles a-day for a great length of time. The food of these animals is straw, grass, capaussia, and oil-cakes, after the oil is expressed from the nuts.

The variety of shrubs and plants which are cultivated for oil in that part of India, add much to its general beauty. The natives never burn candles, and in the inland districts, where the cocoa-nut does not thrive, large tracts are set apart for the seeds from which they extract oil: those in the greatest esteem are the gingeli, or sesamum; and the erinda, ricinus Palma-christi. The latter oil is used medicinally with great success; an outward application of the leaves is often efficacious; when previously heated, and rubbed with oil, I have known it to give great relief in the gout. The consumption of vegetable oils for many millions of lamps which are lighted every night, for anointing the body, culinary purposes, and religious ceremonies, is very great throughout the whole of India, where I believe animal oil is never used.

Mustard-seed is in great estimation for pickles, and similar purposes, but more so for its oil, which is expressed in great abundance. Hemp and flax are cultivated by many villages, not for the fibres, converted in Europe to such valuable manufactures; they

are thrown away, or burnt as useless; but for the valuable oil produced from the seed, and the intoxicating drug called *bhang*. The usual mode of expressing the oil from the different seeds is to put them into a cylindrical trough, or large mortar; a bullock driven round the simple machine, keeps the pestle in action, until the oil is extracted; after which, the remainder forms a nutritious food for horned cattle. Besides the annual plants for this purpose, the mawah, and some other large ornamental trees, produce nuts and fruit, from which they obtain oil of a good quality.

Tobacco is cultivated in most parts of India; it requires a good soil, and attains the height of two or three feet. The hairy stalk is covered with large leaves, which are carefully picked off when they change colour and scent the air; they are then dried in the shade, and preserved for use. Tobacco is an annual plant of delicate appearance; the blossoms, of a pale rose colour, and sometimes of a darker tint, grow in clusters, like the cowslip, at the top of a stately stem, abundantly enriched with leaves of varied and beautiful verdure. This plant, so common throughout India, Persia, and China, is doubtless indigenous to Asia, as well as to America.

The areca, or betel-nut tree, does not thrive in Guzerat. The betel-leaf (*piper betel*, Lin.) so highly esteemed by the natives, and cultivated in most of the Indian provinces, is abundantly so in this. A betel-garden, kept free from weeds, and well watered, is a beautiful object. The cooler the situation, the more luxuriant are the plants; for which

reason the gardeners often raise a clump of plaintain trees at the end of each bed, as they are known to cause additional coolness in the atmosphere. The betel requires constant care : it does not attain perfection until the fourth year ; but continues to repay the cultivator's trouble, for at least six or seven years, by a plentiful crop of leaves, which are always a staple commodity in the bazaar. The betel is produced by cuttings, planted four or five in a hole, and from the first requires great attention.

Ginger and turmeric abound in the Dhuboy pergunna : like the betel, they are planted in rows in large gardens, from cuttings of the roots, put into the earth at the commencement of the rainy season ; in December and January following they are ready for taking up and drying. There are a few poppy-gardens in Guzcrat ; the natives are fond of mixing the seeds in cakes and confections. The opium poppy (*papaver somniferum*, Lin.) thrives best in Malwa, and is a great article in the commerce of Eujeen. The opium oozes from incisions made at the top of the plant, in a white milky juice ; which, when congealed, is gathered for sale, and frequently adulterated. Both opium and bhang, are used as a substitute for spirituous liquors ; their intoxicating effects are very similar, and equally injurious to the constitution.

The sugar-cane grows to the height of eight or nine feet, with a spreading tuft of trees ; the cane is three or four inches in circumference. Like the bamboo, and other arundinaceous plants, it is intersected by numerous joints, which do not impede the circula-

tion. The stem, covered with a hard rind, contains a spongy pith, full of juice ; which in Bengal, Java, and other places is manufactured into sugar ; in the western provinces of India it is seldom brought to such perfection. The natives either purchase foreign sugar, or are content with jaggree, a coarse kind of molasses made from the boiled juice of the cane ; it is also cut into small pieces, and sold, like fruit, in the bazar.

The cane is planted by joints, in regular rows : when arrived at maturity, such as have escaped the depredations of wild hogs (and of elephants, where they are indigenous) are cut down, the juice expressed by a mill, constructed with great simplicity, and then boiled with jaggree.

Honey, wax, drugs, and a variety of medicinal plants, are produced, more or less, throughout Hindostan.

The lands in the Dhuboy districts are generally more enclosed than the Baroche purgunna ; the hedges, frequently shaded by large mango and tamarind trees, are formed by different kinds of euphorbia, and a variety of bushes, shrubs, and creeping plants, in the rainy season profusely covered with blossoms of every mingled hue, which they more or less preserve through a few succeeding months. Their early fragrance is delicious ; the nightly dews, impregnated by the odours, exhale their short-lived sweets, and render a morning walk delightful.

Such beauties are lost on those who do not rise at an early hour in India : the heat soon becomes too powerful for rural excursions. It is late in the evening before the atmosphere becomes cool ; the plants

have lost their freshness, and appear through a different medium.

My first improvement in the garden at Dhuboy, was to make a bathing-room, under an unbrageous banian-tree, close to the principal well. Early rising, the cold bath, a morning walk, temperate meals, an evening ride, and retiring soon to rest, are the best rules for preserving health in India ; and, whenever circumstances permitted, this pleasing routine was my general practice.

The villages in the Dhuboy purgunna generally consist of thatched cottages, built of mud, and a few brick houses, with tiled roofs ; a small dewal, a mosque, and sometimes a choultree, are the only public buildings. Near the large villages there is generally a tank, or lake, where the rain is collected, for the use of the cattle in the dry season ; they are as usual generally enclosed with strong masonry, and their banks adorned by banian, mango, and tamarind-trees, to shade the weary traveller, and lessen evaporation, and constructed at the expense of government, or by an assessment on the villages ; as are also the wells and cisterns.

Mangos and tamarinds were planted near the villages, for general use, or were the property of individuals, who enjoyed their produce, after a small deduction for government. Poor as well as rich enjoy the golden produce ; birds, bats, and monkeys partake of that bounty, which “ spreads a common feast for all that live.”

Hospitality to travellers prevails throughout Guzerat ; any one of consideration passing through the province, is presented at the entrance of a village, with fruit, milk, butter, firewood, and earthen-pots for cookery ; the

women and children offer him wreaths of flowers. Small bowers are constructed on convenient spots, at a distance from a well or lake, where a person is maintained by the nearest villages, to take care of the water-jars, and supply all travellers gratis. There are particular villages, where the inhabitants compel all travellers to accept of one day's provisions : whether they be many or few, rich or poor, European or native, they must not refuse the offered bounty.

Thus contented and happy do the peasantry live in that garden of India, when war keeps at a distance, and their pundits and collectors do not treat them with severity ; even to that they habitually submit, for they have no idea of liberty, as it is felt and enjoyed by Britons. As well may you talk of colour to the blind, or the harmony of sound to the deaf, as liberty, patriotism, and the nobler virtues, to the inhabitants of Asia, under the political and religious systems to which they have hitherto been accustomed.

The mode of appropriating the land, and collecting the revenues in Guzerat, is in many respects similar to that of the ancient Germans, on their emerging from Gothic barbarism, when the property of land was invested in the tribe or nation, and a portion of corn was allotted to every individual, by the magistrate ; and corresponded to the number of his family, the degrees of his merit, and the importance of his services. Yet he derived no source of power, or influence, from a territorial property which he could not bequeath to his successor.

Thus it is in Hindostan : the lands appropriated to each village belong to the government ; the ryots or peasants, who cultivate the fields under the orders and



inspection of the patell, or superior of the village, are in a manner attached to the spot. The cattle for the plough, and other services of husbandry, are sometimes the common stock of the village, oftener the property of individuals. The patell provides seed and implements of agriculture, takes care that such as are able cultivate the land, and at the time of settling the jumwabunda, or harvest-agreement, with the collector of the revenue, allots to each family their portion of grain, or a share of the money for which it has been sold; according to the number of the family, the quantity of their cattle, and the extent of the land they have cultivated. Some particular fields, called pysita and vajcefa lands, are set apart in each village for public purposes; varying, perhaps, as to the mode of application, in different districts; but in most the produce of these lands is appropriated to the maintenance of the Brahmins, the cazee, washerman, smith, barber, and the lame, blind, and helpless; as also to the support of a few vertunnees, or armed men, who are kept for the defence of the village, and to conduct travellers in safety from one village to another. An English reader may perhaps be surprized to see the barber in the list of pensioners: there is seldom more than one in each village; he shaves the inhabitants gratis; and as he has no exercise in the day, it is his province at night to carry a mussaul, or torch, to light travellers on the road, or for any other purpose required; no time remaining for him to attend to husbandry or to provide for his family, it is but just he should be maintained at the public expense: this is also applicable to the washerman and the smith, who work for the village, without any other emolu-

ment. In some places, particularly in Mysore, there is an appropriation of grain to the saktis, or destructive spirits ; and perhaps to many other deities who may be the objects of hope or fear in the worship of the villagers.

The occupation of massaulchee, or torch-bearer, although generally allotted to the village barber, in the purgunnas under my charge, may vary in other districts. The massaul, or torch, in India, is composed of coarse rags, rolled up to the size of an English flambeau, eighteen or twenty inches long, fixed in a brass handle : this is carried in the left hand ; in the right the massaulchee holds a brass vessel containing the oil, with which he feeds the flame as occasion requires. By these means a bright extensive light is kept up. A great number of torch-bearers are assembled at the Hindoo festivals, especially weddings ; they give a brilliant effect to the spectacle. I have sometimes, during a midnight journey in the ravines and nullahs between Baroche and Dhuboy, infested by wild beasts, and wilder men, been in a perilous situation from a failure of oil in a tract where there were no villages to replenish the vessels.

It may appear equally extraordinary to an European, to see the washerman mentioned among those who have a stipulated portion of grain. The Hindoo females in general do not wash either their own or their husbands' clothes : a public washerman, attached to each village, performs that office, which I believe is hereditary in his family ; and for this duty he receives his portion of grain from the cullies. The washing in India, both for Europeans and natives, is performed without doors ; if possible near a running

stream ; if not, on the margin of a lake, where the linen is beaten violently against flat stones, or large blocks of wood, placed for the purpose, as in *France* : this mode of cleansing soon destroys the linens of *Europe* ; but has no bad effect on the *Indian* cottons.

The cullies just noticed, are farm-yards, or receptacles at the different villages, for the general produce of the lands at the close of harvest. There the cotton, oil-seeds, and all kinds of grain are accumulated for the inspection of the zemindars, and officers of government, previous to the assessment for the revenue, and usual appropriations. The cully contains the thrashing floor, where the corn is trampled upon by oxen, the immemorial custom in the east. Here also are large receptacles for cotton, formed by digging holes in the earth, lined with cow-dung, and filled with cotton as picked from the bushes ; which are then covered with clods of dried earth, rubbed over with a cement of cow-dung, to preserve the contents from the weather.

In some places the cattle and implements of husbandry belong to individuls, who receive their proportion of land from the patell, to cultivate at their own expense, and to furnish their cattle and seed-grain. At the settling of the junmabunda, they pay their proportion of the village assessment to government, and then dispose of their grain, cotton, and fruit, without being accountable to the patell ; for between the patell and the collectors belonging to government, are a set of venal corrupt men, called zemindars, who by a powerful influence in every district, take an advantage of both parties ; these men, in fact, ought to be only intelligent clerks and accountants, conversant

in the revenue department; and, from being acquainted with its forms and usages, should settle accounts between the collectors and patells, and see that justice is done on both sides. But so much is this office abused, that the zemindars are permitted to advance money to the patells and cultivators, to purchase cattle, seed, and other things wanted at the commencement of the rainy season, at the exorbitant interest of three and three quarters per cent. per mensem, or at the rate of five and forty per cent. per annum; though it is always lent by the month. For the security of money thus advanced, the produce of the land is mortgaged to the zemindars, who, at the time of settling the Jummabunda, assume the new title of minutedars; which is a name and an office by right only belonging to the seraffs (bankers) and monied men of the district; who, by a proper agreement, and for a reasonable consideration, take upon themselves to pay the sum assessed by the collectors, to the officers of government. The pernicious practice of permitting the zemindars, who have already too much influence, to be the minutedars also, extends their power to a dangerous length; and is productive of the worst consequences to the cultivators. The cunning, chicanery, and wickedness of the minutedars cannot easily be described, or comprehended, by a generous mind, unused to their artful wiles: yet pysita-lands are set apart in almost every village for these oppressors, who share with the industrious peasants and proper pensioners, the allotments before mentioned; and I must own, when I cheerfully acquiesced in every distribution to the poor, the maimed, and helpless objects of compassion, it was a painful

imposition to reward these wretches for their cruelty and oppression. It is pleasing to reflect how similar were many of the Hindoo appropriations to the charities enjoyed by the Mosaical law. "When thou beatest thine olive tree, though shalt not go over the boughs again; when thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard thou shalt not glean it afterwards; when thou cuttest down thy harvest, and hast forgot a sheaf in thy field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it; these shall be for the stranger, the fatherless, and for the widow; that the Lord thy GOD may bless thee!"—Deut. ch. xxiv. ver. 19—21.

I am decidedly of opinion from my own knowledge, founded on practice as well as theory, that however sanctioned by long habit and established custom, the mode of assessment by Jumma-bunda, in the districts under my cognizance, failed in many essential points to produce the good effects which might have been expected, could we have found men of humane character and responsibility to conduct the business. A better mode would be, were men of moral principles and probity to be found, to grant such leases as would give the former a secure and permanent interest in the land he cultivates, and such a tenure would be the only means of preventing the abominable fraud, plunder, and oppression, which the ryots suffer under the zemindars, and the whole mass of native officers employed in the cutcheree or revenue department. Such farmers were however not to be met with in the Company's territory, nor I believe throughout the whole province of Guzerat, while I resided there.

In different districts of Guzerat are different modes of cultivation, collecting the revenues, and distributing

the crop. Those that I have alluded to were usual in the purgunnas under my management. In some parts of Hindostan, exclusive of the larger jaghires to princes and great officers, whole villages, with all the lands belonging to them, are appropriated to favorites of the reigning sovereign, to dancing-girls or celebrated devotees. One of the most beautiful and flourishing villages I ever saw, had, with its surrounding districts, been given to a set of dancing-girls; another, of similar population and fertility, belonged to a tribe of Gosannees, or Hindoo mendicants.

Besides the portions of grain set apart for the charitable purposes already mentioned, in many places, before the final allotment of the crops between the government and cultivators, a considerable quantity of grain is appropriated for the gods, Brahmins, astrologers, and others, not particularized in my division. The gods and Brahmins are every where well fed: not only from the general stock of grain, but by the fruits, meal, and dainties, offered every morning in the temple. The story of Bel and the Dragon was not confined to Babylon; it is daily realized in India, where it would be happy if all the offerings and sacrifices were as innocent. But surely a religion which tolerates lasciviousness, and dedicates the delicate virgin to the lingam, or the lustful priests of Jaggernaut, requires some reformation. This is an unpleasant subject; but such expositions are necessary in the present system of false philosophy and general toleration. Thus writes the amiable Bernier, in the seventeenth century.

“ Les Brahmens, ces fourbes prennent une jeune fille, des plus belles qui se trouve entre-eux, pour etre

l'epouse de Jaggernaut ; ils la laissent la nuit dans le temple, ou ils l'ont transportée en grande ceremonie, avec l'idole ; luy donnant á entendre que Jaggernaut viendra dormir avec elle ; et luy ordonnent de luy demander si l'année sera fertile, &c. cependant un de ces imposteurs entre lá dedans la nuit, par une petite porte de derriere, jouit de cette fille, et luy fait acroire tout ce que bon luy semble ; et le lendemain qu'on la transporte de ce temple dans un autre, avec la mesme magnificence, qu'on l'avoit pertée sur ce chariot de triomphe, á côté de Jaggernaut son epoux, ces Brahmens luy font dire hautement au peuple, tout ce qu'elle à appris de ces fourbes, comme l'ayant appris de la bouche mesme de Jaggernaut."

Such is the faithful account of an unprejudiced traveller a hundred and fifty years ago : it is well known this atrocious practice still continues ! Silence from those who have obtained the same knowledge, should not sanction such infamous proceedings, under the idea of vindicating a " harmless religion," if a religion can be so called, which allows of infanticide ; encourages a young mother to deprive her infants of maternal care, and sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband ; which ordains a child not four years old to be betrothed to a man of forty ; and, should he die before the marriage is consummated, dooms her to virgin-widowhood, and domestic degradation, for the remainder of her life. The murder of female infants among whole tribes of Hindoos, and the painful cremation of widows, cannot be included in that description ; neither are their sacrifices confined to flowers, fruit, and herbs, nor yet to that of animals. It is

proved, by late researches into Hindoo mythology, that human victims were formerly offered by the Brahmins to the destructive powers ; which probably are now every where discontinued. But what can be said by their modern advocates for the sacrifice of those pilgrims who annually resort to the temples of Jaggernaut, and are encouraged by the Brahmins to place themselves under the enormous wheels of the idol's triumphal car, and thus be crushed to death, amidst the shouts and acclamations of a deluded multitude attending the procession? Surely these are as much human sacrifices as those offered at the shrine of Moloch, or the sanguinary rites in the mysterious groves of the Druids.

A religion which admits of such shocking practices, and many other enormities which might be adduced, cannot have proceeded from a pure and holy God. He has revealed himself under a very different character ; as a God, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises ; a God merciful and gracious ; slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy ! When we compare the benevolent precepts of the Gospel with such tenets, the superiority of its doctrines, and the moral dignity of a Christian, must be a glorious pre-eminence. With what sublimity and purity does it clothe the Divine attributes ! On what a basis does it erect our faith, elevate our hope, and extend our charity The Divine rule, of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us, outweighs the whole code of Menu, and all the moral precepts of the Koran.

Love breathes through the whole Christian dispensation. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all



*thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself."* St. Luke, ch. x. ver. 27. "*A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another.*" St. John, ch. xiii. ver. 34. What jurisprudence ever reached this excellent system? "*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*" St. Matt. ch. vii. ver. 12. It supersedes every moral code; and were the world at large actuated by the spirit of that single precept, what a happy world would it be! Charity, seraphic guest, when implanted in the Christian's heart, how dost thou exalt human nature! "*Thou sufferest long and art kind, thou enviest not, seekest not thy own, art not easily provoked, thinkest not evil.*" 1 Cor. ch. xiii. ver. 4. What a heavenly portrait! Scarcely can it be believed that any person acquainted with both systems would wish to establish the contracted scheme of Hinduism, the limitation of brahminism to castes and sects, in opposition to this divine and universal system of faith, hope, and love.

I have been asked by one of the most amiable men I know, and one of the most valuable friends I ever possessed, why I trouble myself so much about the Hindoos: why not allow mothers to destroy their infants, widows to immolate themselves with their husbands, and Brahmins to pour boiling oil into the ears of the lower castes who listen to the Shastah? This gentleman lived upwards of twenty years in India, and, like many others, saw no impropriety in such conduct; or he would have been among the first to reprobate it, and attempt a change. But, as I know he speaks the sentiments of numerous philanthropists, I shall answer the question in the language of the excellent Cowper:

*" I was born of woman, and drew milk,  
 As sweet as charity, from human breasts.  
 I think, articulate, I laugh and weep,  
 And exercise all functions of a man.  
 How then should I, and any man that lives,  
 Be strangers to each other ?  
 Nor can I rest  
 A silent witness of the headlong rage  
 Or heedless folly by which thousands die,  
 Bone of my bone, and kindred souls to mine."*

There is a sweet simplicity, a pure and holy joy in the Christian religion, unknown to other creeds. It needs not external pomp nor splendid decorations to captivate the soul. They may be appropriate and necessary in a national church : and very far be it from me to lessen the influence of any mean whatever, which tends to encourage piety or convert a single soul to the path of peace ! but in this happy country, where the Gospel is every where preached, and the Bible every where read, a British ploughman can tell us in strains of poesy, peculiarly his own, that religion, in a lovely form, is to be found where neither the aid of sacred music is employed, nor the splendid ornaments of religious worship are adopted.

The share of the territorial revenue appropriated to the Brahmins, has caused a digression from the general subject. The charitable distributions, and jaghires of landed property in Guzerat, are various and extensive ; not only small villages, and particular fields are set apart for the maintenance of religion, and charitable purposes, but large districts and whole provinces have been sometimes assigned by sovereigns in jaghire to their favourites. As mentioned in the Mahratta history, these jaghiredars hold their lands upon the feudal sys-

tem. The revenue is their own ; they assess their subjects as they please, and have an uncontrolled power of life and death in their dominion. For these honours and advantages they pay an annual tribute, or maintain a stipulated number of troops for public service. Under these chieftains are pundits, duans, and oppressors of various denominations ; who all agree in extorting from the poor ryots every thing they possibly can, to enrich themselves : that, in conformity to the general system, they may be able to answer the exactions of their superiors ; who view the growing wealth of their ministers with an eager eye ; and when sufficiently accumulated, seize their persons, and claim a large share of the spoil.

This system of oppression so completely pervades all classes of society under every form of oriental government, that it is almost impossible, out of the British dominions, to find an Asiatic of any caste or tribe, who, like the English *country gentleman*, in the middle walk of life, enjoys his patrimonial inheritance, surrounded by domestic happiness and rural pleasures. Such a character is not probably confined to this favoured island : however it may be comparatively known in other European states, it certainly would present a most uncommon spectacle among the Asiatics. A system of oppression prevails from the throne to the zemindar, whom I have frequently heard give the order for a patell and head farmer to be unmercifully flogged, as representative of the village he was ruining by his extortions. This system ascends by a regular scale from these Brahmin and Banian zemindars to the imperial despot upon the musnud ; who, like the Babylonish monarch of old, allows of no alter-

native to those who obey or disobey his unjust decrees, than that they should receive gifts and rewards, and great honour ; or be cut in pieces, and their houses made a dung-hill : that monarch one day fell upon his face and worshipped Daniel, commanding an oblation of sweet odours to be offered unto him, and the next condemned his three friends to a fiery furnace for not worshipping his golden image. Or of his immediate successors, one of whom clothed his virtuous minister with scarlet, and put a chain of gold about his neck, as a reward for his services ; and the other, who at the instigation of his wicked counsellors ordered him to be thrown into a den of lions ! Such was despotism two thousand years ago, such it continues at this present day !

That absolute power hardens the heart, in whatever climate or country it is permitted, cannot be doubted. We need not confine our remarks to Asia : some of the cruel and wanton acts of tyranny exercised by the feudal barons in Europe, over their bondmen and villains, are too shocking for the modest page. Oriental despotism proceeds on different grounds, though acting from the same principle ; lust and revenge predominated in Europe, dominion and avarice in Asia. It would be painful to describe the various modes of oppression within my own knowledge ; I shall only mention one anecdote in confirmation of what I have lately alluded to ; it happened at Tattah, on the banks of Indus, where one of my friends was the English resident at the prince of Scindy's court. Tattah, the capital of those princes, has for many years been in a declining state, occasioned by wars and revolutions. The little commerce it enjoys since the English factory

has been withdrawn, is in the hands of the Hindoo merchants; the principal officers in the commercial and revenue departments are also Hindoos. The prince and his court are Mahomedans, who, like other oriental despots, permit these officers to amass wealth by every means in their power, and then seize their prey.

The collector of the customs was a Hindoo of family, wealth, and credit. Lulled into security from his interest at court, and suspecting no evil, he was surprised by a visit from the vizier, with a company of armed men, to demand his money, which being secreted, no threatenings could induce him to discover. A variety of tortures were inflicted to extort a confession; one was a sofa, with a platform of tight cordage in net-work, covered with a chintz palampore, which concealed a bed of thorns placed under it: the collector, a corpulent Banian, was then stripped of his jama, or muslin robe, and ordered to lie down on the couch: the cords bending with his weight, sunk on the bed of thorns; those long and piercing thorns of the baubul or forest acacia, which being placed purposely with their points upwards, lacerated the wretched man, whether in motion or at rest. For two days and nights he bore the torture without revealing the secret; his tormentors fearing he would die before their purpose was effected, had recourse to another mode of compulsion. When nature was nearly exhausted, they took him from the bed, and supported him on the floor, until his infant son, an only child, was brought into the room; and with him a bag containing a fierce cat, into which they put the child, and tied up the mouth of the sack. The agents of cruelty

stood over them with bamboos, ready at a signal to beat the bag, and enrage the animal to destroy the child: this was too much for the father's heart! He produced his treasure, and on his recovery he was sent for to court, invested with a sirpaw, or robe of state, and exalted to a high situation in another province; there to accumulate more wealth, and, at a future period, be again subject to the capricious fiat of a needy despot.

Another act of tyranny sometimes practised by the Mahrattas, is called the sheep-skin death. On this occasion the culprit is stripped naked, and a sheep being killed, the warm skin of the animal is immediately stretched to the utmost, and sewed tight over the prisoner's body; he is then conducted to the flat roof of the prison, and exposed to the fervour of a tropical sun, the skin contracting by the heat, draws with it the flesh of the agonizing wretch; until putrefaction, hunger, and thirst terminate his suffering.

I shall conclude this subject with a translation of a bill of sale of some land in India, written originally in the Tamul language, introduced in the Mysore Researches by Colonel Wilks. It affords a very satisfactory specimen of those deeds among the natives of India.

“Be it propitious!

“On this fortunate day, Monday the 16th, of the month Ahvany, of the year (of the cycle) Kahlyuktee, in the year of *Salinahan* 1720, and of the *Cali Yug* 4899, being the third day of the increasing moon, under the auspicious conjunction and happy influence of the constellation Ashanatte and Magarum: *Kistna Sawmey Pilla* of Cunnatoor, the son of *Vencatachelum Pilla*, for himself and his house, executes this deed of

sale of land to *Cumance Sawmey Pilla*. That is to say: of the twenty-eight established shares of *Cunnatoor*, I have made a full and complete sale to you of my own two shares therein, for one hundred chuckrums; and you having paid, and I having received the said one hundred chuckrums for the said two shares: therefore possess the *Nunja*, *Punja* (wet and dry lands), trees, groves, gardens, hillocks, water, wood, stone, and treasures; the well that points beneath, the tree that points above, *together with all property belonging in common thereto*, within its four boundaries. Your children from generation to generation, are free to bestow, or exchange, or to dispose of it at their pleasure. Possess and enjoy it as long as the sun and the moon, the earth and its vegetables, the mountains and the river *Cauvery*, exist; and all prosperity attend you. Thus it is subscribed by me *Kistna Sawmey Pilla*, with my full consent to *Cumana Sawmey Pilla*. This deed is written by *Mootoo Sawmey*, the village *Conicopoly*."

(Signed)

KISTNA SAWNEY.

Witnesses

ARNACHELUM,

SUNKALINGUM,

SHUMMOGUM.

That the inhabitants of *Baroche*, when under the English government, were considered to possess landed property in their own right, appears from the lease of some lands which I obtained for a term of ninety-nine years, from *Lullabhy*, the celebrated zemindar at *Baroche*; not drawn up in such strong terms as the preceding deed of sale, but equally binding on all parties concerned in the transaction.

During the Mogul government it was considered that all the lands of the empire belonged to the sovereign, but the lands in the provinces were subject to the respective nawabs, or nabobs. With them, or their representatives, Orme observes, the farmers agreed for the cultivation of such an extent, on reserving to themselves such a proportion of the produce. This proportion was settled according to the difficulty or ease of raising the grain; and seldom exceeded one-third.

The landed property in Guzerat was generally considered to belong to the respective governments of the province, whether English, Mogul, or Mahratta. My instructions, on being appointed collector of Dhuboy and the adjoining purgunnas, clearly authorised me so to consider them.



## CHAPTER III.

Bhaderpoor — Eastern Highways — Isaiah Illustrated — Beauty of the Country — Mowah-tree — Palmyra-tree — Sugar-cane — Bamboo — Curious Banian-trees — Wells — Simplicity of Indian Manufactures — Fraudulent Deceptions in weighing Cotton — Cunning and Duplicity of the Hindoos — Excursion in the Purgunnas — Beauties of Cachemire — Travelling Brahmin — Account of British India under Mr. Hastings — Description of the Hindoo Mendicants — Anecdote of a Brahmin destroying a Microscope — Extraordinary Feats of Indian Jugglers — Hindoo Drama — Arab and Scindian Infantry in India — Hawking — Fighting Rams — Hospitality of the Arabs — Power of Music on Antelopes in a Spectacle at Poonah — Destruction of Monkeys by Tigers — Cruelty of Bheels and Gracias — Presentation of a Gracia's Head — Death of an Indian Female from Fatty Sibng's Seraglio — Hindoo Soothsayers, and Diviners — Wilds of Bhaderpoor — Description of a Tiger-hunt by Sir John Day.

HAVING described the city and inhabitants of Dhuboy, the administration of justice, and collection of the revenues in that district, I will now more briefly mention the subordinate purgunnas intrusted to my management.

The nearest of those districts was called Bhaderpoor; it contained a small town of the same name, and sixteen inhabited villages. As the capitals were within a few miles of each other, I frequently visited it, and sometimes resided there at the commencement of the harvest immediately after the rains; when the

roads, not only in the Bhaderpoor purgunna, but many other places, were so destroyed by the preceding heavy rains and floods, that it was impossible to travel without sending precursors to see that the hills of sand and mud were levelled, and the chasms and ravines filled up, before a wheeled carriage could pass. This, by the custom of the country, is performed gratuitously for governors and persons in office; and at this season travellers of every description, whether in a palanquin or on horseback, must have the highways mended before they undertake a journey. During the rainy season they are generally impassable, and frequently invisible, from inundation. On the halcarra, or harbinger, arriving at a village with an intimation that a man of consequence is on his way thither, a proclamation is issued to repair the road as far as the next village, and so in continuance. In a light soil it is a work of no great expense, and soon accomplished.

This established custom elucidates a beautiful passage in the evangelical prophecy respecting the coming of the Messiah, preceded by John the Baptist, as a harbinger, in the spirit and power of Elias, to prepare the way of the Lord, and make his paths straight; St. Matt. ch. iii. ver. 3, when every valley was to be exalted, and every mountain and hill to be made low; and the crooked to be made straight, and the rough places plain. Isaiah, ch. xl. ver. 4.

Another passage occurs in the same prophet, not easily comprehended by an English reader, which is clearly illustrated by a common practice among the peasants in Hindostan. At the commencement of the rainy season they plant abundance of melons, cucum-

bers, and gourds, which are then the principal food of the inhabitants. They are not sown in garden-beds, as in Europe, but in open fields, and extensive plains, liable to depredation by men and beasts. In the centre of the field is an artificial mount, with a hut on the top, sufficiently large to shelter a single person from the inclemency of the weather. There, amidst heavy rain and tempestuous winds, a poor solitary being is stationed day and night, to protect the crop from thieves of various descriptions, but especially from the monkeys, who assemble in large bodies to commit depredations. From thence the centinel gives an alarm to the nearest village, and the peasants come out and drive them off. Few situations can be more unpleasant than a hovel of this kind, exposed for three or four months to thunder, lightning, and rain. The prophet, no doubt, alludes to it in that passage deploring the desolation of Judca; "the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard; as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers; as a besieged city!" Isaiah, ch. i. ver. 8.\*

During these periodical rains, and for a few weeks after, the aspect of the country is verdant and beautiful. At other seasons the russet hue generally prevails; the autumnal tints, which give so much beauty to the English woods and groves, are little known in the torrid zone; but there is sufficient variety in the verdure of the trees and plants to pro-

\* This prediction it is well known has been literally fulfilled, and the mountain of Zion, cast out from the actual enclosure of Jerusalem, only produces cucumbers and other vegetables:—see Tillemont et Crevier, *Hist. des Emp. Livre XIX. (II)*. Note of the Editor.

duce a pleasing contrast. In the Bhaderpoor *purgunna* are many noble burr-trees, extensive mango topes, and abundance of the mawah (*bassia butyracea*). This is a valuable tree, indigenous to many parts of India, and flourishing in my districts; it attains the size of an English oak, grows in almost any soil, and from the beauty of the foliage, makes a conspicuous appearance in the landscape; its timber is very desirable from being proof against the destructive teeth of the termites; those formidable ants. it is said, being unable to eat it. The leaves are large and shining; and the flowers, which grow in full bunches, of so rich a nature, that when gathered and dried in the sun, they resemble Malaga raisins in flavour and appearance. These blossoms are eaten in various ways, either as a preserved fruit, or to give an acidity to curries and other savoury dishes; but their greatest consumption is in the distillery of arrack, of which there are many kinds, from rice, jaggaree, tari, and sugar: this, by way of distinction, is called mawah-arrack, and is so strong and cheap a spirit, that the lower class of natives drink it to great excess; its consequences are as pernicious as the same deleterious liquors in Europe. In a plentiful season, a good tree produces from two to three hundred pounds weight of flowers; the proportionate quantity of spirit I cannot ascertain. The flowers are never entirely gathered; those that remain on the tree are succeeded by a fruit, or shell containing a pulp of delicate whiteness; from which is extracted an oily substance like butter, or ghec, which keeps a long time, and for family use answers all the purposes of those valuable articles. The kernel, or seed of the fruit, contains an oil of inferior quality

and a more rancid flavour ; it does not congeal, and is chiefly used by the poor.

The palmyra, or brab-tree, flourishes on the banks of the Nerbudda and many Guzerat rivers. The cocoa-nut tree does not grow in the interior districts, nor is it abundant on the sea-coasts so far north. The palmyra, like the rest of that beautiful genus, gives an oriental costume to the landscape, and is a tree of long duration ; it sows itself from the seed contained within its semi-transparent fruit, when it falls from the tree, or is dispersed by birds and monkeys. A palmyra tree, when in perfection, yields daily about three quarts of tari, or palm-wine ; this when boilded down produces a pound of the coarse sugar, called jaggaree, which is also made of a better quality from the juice of the sugar-cane.

The bamboo, (*bambusa*, Lin.) flourished near the rivers in the Bhaderpoor districts ; it is a beautiful and very useful plant, common in most parts of India and China ; it does not attain the largest size in Guzerat ; but there the thick stems and smaller branches are converted to various purposes ; building furniture, baskets, and utensils. In Malabar, those of large dimensions are formed into arches, by training them, while vegetating, over an iron frame of the shape required, to support the canopies of palanquins. Some bamboos, of large diameter and a lofty arch, are valued at five or six hundred rupees.

I mentioned the wedded-banian-tree at Salsette ; it is not uncommon in this part of Guzerat, and causes a singular variety in vegetation. Colonel Ironside describes a very curious one in the province of Bahar, among the other banian-trees, which he says are

creepers ; as likewise the peipal, or ficus religiosa, which often springs round different trees, particularly the palm ; he observes that the palmyra growing through the centre of a banian-tree looks extremely grand ; it frequently shoots from old walls, and runs along them. On the inside of a large brick well, one of these trees lined the whole circumference of the internal space, and thus actually became a tree turned inside out. Under this tree sat a fakeer, a devotee. He had been there five and twenty years, but did not continue under the tree the whole time ; his vow obliging him to lie, during the four coldest months, up to his neck in the Ganges ; and to sit, during the four hottest months, close to a large fire.

Cheap as every common necessary of Indian life was in Dhuby, they were still more so at Bhaderpoor ; few indeed were the wants of the inhabitants in that lonely district : a couple of yards of cotton cloth, tied round the middle, was all the clothing of the common men ; some wore a turban. A single piece of coarse cotton, several yards in length, was the usual dress of the females. A thatched hut, containing a few earthen pots for cookery, a large jar of unburnt clay to hold grain, another of burnt clay for water, and a glazed pot for oil, comprised the stock of a villager.

The construction of all the machines for the arts and manufactures in India, are light and simple ; in these respects the Asiatics are far behind Europeans, and, as frequently mentioned, are averse to imitation or improvement. Colonel Wilks relates an anecdote of the ingenuity of Shahjee, father of Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, from which some

conjecture may be formed of the general state of the arts and sciences in India, at the commencement of the seventeenth century. "The minister Jagadeva Row had made a vow to distribute in charity the weight of his elephant in silver; and all the learned men of the court had studied in vain the means of constructing a machine of sufficient power to weigh the elephant. Shahjee's expedient was certainly simple and ingenious in an eminent degree. He led the animal along a stage prepared for the purpose, to a flat-bottomed boat; and marking the water-line removed the elephant, and caused stones to be placed in a boat, sufficient to load it to the same line. The stones being brought separately to the scales, ascertained the true weight of the elephant, to the astonishment of the court at the wonderful talents of Shahjee."

Sugar-canes, mangos, and bringals, always formed a principal part of my villagers' presents when I halted at the public well. Although too great a part of the Bhaderpoor purgunna was uncultivated, in the other districts I had seldom occasion to look out for gardens or pleasure grounds to pitch my tent or erect my summiniana, or shamyana, the whole country being generally a garden. A corn-field, considered in its full extent, affords one of the most gratifying objects in nature: not much less interesting, and more beautiful to the eye, are the fields of cotton already mentioned. I then omitted one of my occupations respecting this valuable production. I had generally large commissions annually to purchase cotton at Barroche for the Bombay merchants, to be sent from thence to Bengal and China. For this purpose the

English gentlemen at Baroche made their contracts with the cotton dealers, who received it from the villages every evening; and early on the ensuing morning weighed the cotton gathered the preceding day to the brokers, by whom it was immediately packed in bales for foreign markets. As these brokers, and native cotton dealers of every description, play into each others hand, and use all possible means to cheat an European, we found it very difficult to counteract their cunning. One of their principal frauds was that of exposing the cotton, spread out on cow-dung floors, to the nightly dews, and then weighing it early the next morning in a moist state to the receivers. This occasioned the great loss in the weight of the candy, containing five hundred and sixty pounds, when it became dry. To prevent this as much as possible, I often paid an unexpected visit at day-break to at least a hundred of these small cotton-merchants; when, by placing a handful of the cotton taken up indiscriminately from the floor, upon the check, it was easy to discover whether it had been exposed to the dew to increase its weight. Like Gideon's fleece, spread upon the floor, with an honest dealer the cotton was perfectly dry; if in the hands of a rogue, you might like him wring out a bowlful of water.

Notwithstanding so many late encomiums on the Hindoo character by respectable writers, it will I believe be generally allowed by those who have dealt much with Banians, and merchants in the large trading-towns of India, that their moral character cannot be held in high estimation; since they are guilty of all the arts of craftiness, duplicity, and cunning that can be practised without the pale of the law. A mo-



dern writer has asserted that "no people ever exhibited more suavity of manners, or more mildness of character; and that the Christian religion has not done so much for the lower orders of society in Europe, as that of Brahma appears to have done for the Hindoos."

I repeat, I cannot acquiesce in these opinions, and others of a similar nature, unnecessary to introduce; a residence of many years among the Brahmins, and a constant intercourse with those employed in the revenue department, afforded me great opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Hindoo character, from the religious and lay Brahmins, to the lowest of the banian tribe. On my return to Europe I had the pleasure of a long intimacy with the venerable and respectable governor Holwell, of whom I have spoken in my fourth chapter, one of the first who published an account of these people, under the name then better known of Gentoos; this benevolent man was esteemed very partial to the natives of India, and had investigated their character more than was usual at that period. Yet this is his portrait of them. "The Gentoos, in general, are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious, and wicked a people, as any race of people in the known world, if not eminently more so, especially the common run of Brahmins; and we can truly aver, that, during almost five years that we presided in the butchery court of Calcutta, never any murder or other atrocious crime came before us, but it was proved in the end a Brahmin was at the bottom of it."

I have no pleasure in making these quotations, but when so opposite a character is held forth by modern writers, truth and candour compel me to confirm them

by my own observations; the same opinion was formed of these people by Dr. Fryer, a century before Governor Holwell's publication.

My journies in the purgunnas made a pleasing variety in my occupations; and the little difficulties occasioned by heat, rain, or the appearance of a tiger, rendered them interesting. Travelling in a palanquin during the rainy season, I generally met with accommodation at the towns and villages in my own districts. In the warm months a tamarind or banian-tree sheltered me by day; at night a small tent contained my bed, and a *summiniana* protected me from the evening dews; these with a camp table and chair were all the conveniences I wanted when travelling alone. The *summiniana*, used both by Europeans and natives in most parts of India, is an awning, or pavilion, open on all sides, supported by poles, and stretched out by cords, in any level spot in the country; often in a court or garden near the house; where we assembled after sun-set to enjoy the society of our friends, smoke a hooka, and partake of a slight supper. The ground was generally covered by a thick cotton cloth, or Persian carpet: convenient furniture and cheerful lights rendered it preferable to any part of a house; which, during the hot winds, was never cool until midnight. The *summiniana* differs from a tent in having a flat covering lined with chintz, and no side walls; it is neither troublesome nor expensive, but extremely useful in a hot climate; and often alluded to by ancient writers.

One of my chief pleasures in these excursions was the occasional interviews I enjoyed with travellers of various descriptions from different parts of Hindostan,

who stopped at the same choultrie, or reposed under the same banian-tree with myself. My people at Dhuboy knowing my desire for information, seldom suffered a Mahomedan fakeer or Hindoo pilgrim of any celebrity to pass through the city without an introduction to me : their narratives were generally interesting, though sometimes extravagant, in describing the miracles of saints and hermits in remote regions, where there was little probability of detection.

Of all the countries visited by these Yogees and Senassies, they were most lavish in praise of Cachemire, whither they frequently extended their pilgrimages. These narrations made me long to behold this "Earthly Paradise," formerly a kingdom, happy under its own monarchs ; surrounded by lofty mountains, their summits covered with perpetual snow ; the acclivities according to their different aspects, either adorned with the trees of Europe, or decked by the perennial plants and flowers of Asia, and sometimes presenting a delightful assemblage of both. Immense rocks, rich groves, magnificent cataracts, and murmuring cascades, produce a sublime and beautiful effect. These waters, either in roaring cataracts, or gentle streams, flow to the lakes and rivulets which fertilize the plain, and there uniting, form the celebrated Indus, one of the great rivers of Asia.

This charming diversity of mountain and valley, wood and water, cornfields, meadows, orchards, and gardens, intermingled with towns, villages, palaces, and cottages, presents a scene unrivalled in any part of the world. Most travellers confirm this account, especially Bernier, who accompanied the emperor Au-

rungzebe and his court on a visit to this province in the year 1663; which, next to the march of Darius, was perhaps one of the most magnificent scenes of eastern pageantry ever exhibited. They were escorted by an army of thirty-five thousand cavalry, ten thousand infantry, a large train of artillery, and every splendid accompaniment belonging to the Mogul sovereigns in the zenith of power.

Besides a description of countries, the Hindoo travellers in Dhuboy often gave me a faithful account of men and manners, which they were very capable of estimating. For, although the natives of India are seldom communicative in what relates to their religion, caste, or domestic œconomy, and perhaps are neither ready nor willing to answer the statistical inquiries of strangers, I generally found these pilgrims very much the contrary; their minds were enlarged, and their sentiments altogether more liberal and philanthropical than the stationary Hindoos. I made a proper allowance for marvellous adventures, endeavoured to extract a little honey from every flower, and in the durbar at Dhuboy, or on the shady banks of the Nerbudda, I spent many a pleasant and improving hour with religious mendicants, both Hindoos and Mahomedans.

I was highly entertained with one visitor of this description; who, seeing me engaged on public business in the durbar, inquired to which presidency I belonged. On replying that I was on the Bombay establishment, he wished me to explain the nature of the British governments in India, particularly in what manner the other Presidencies were subordinate to the Governor General of Bengal. Having endeavoured

so to do, the venerable Brahmin told me he had lived under many different governments, and travelled in many countries, but had never witnessed a general diffusion of happiness equal to that of the natives under the mild and equitable administration of Mr. Hastings, at that time Governor-General of Bengal. I cannot forget the words of this respectable pilgrim ; we were near a banian-tree in the durbar court when he thus concluded his discourse : “ As the burr-tree, one of the noblest productions in nature, by extending its branches for the comfort and refreshment of all who seek its shelter, is emblematical of the DEITY ; so do the virtues of the Governor resemble the burr-tree ; he extends his providence to the remotest districts, and stretches out his arms, far and wide, to afford protection and happiness to his people ; such, SAHEB, is Mr. Hastings ! ” Yet, this is the man, who, by the violence of faction, intended for patriotic zeal, and conducted by a flow of eloquence seldom equalled, was arraigned for crimes the most foreign to his benevolent heart, and doomed to a trial of seven years duration : a scene unparalleled in the annals of mankind !

I never saw Mr. Hastings until his public appearance on that solemn occasion, and could then hardly conceive it possible, by any combination of ideas, or concatenation of circumstances, to believe that a man should be tried in his own country, for crimes supposed to have been committed at ten thousand miles distance ; among a people who not only knew his character, but feeling the blessings which flowed from his humane and benevolent heart, considered him as an emblem of the GODHEAD !

This is confirmed by the congratulatory address from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, who had witnessed the blessings of his government, and thus addressed him on his acquittal from the charges preferred against him: "We cannot but admire, Sir, the patience, fortitude, and resignation, with which you have borne a trial unexampled in its length; and a scrutiny into character, motives, and actions, the most strict and minute that ever was instituted. But, upheld by conscious innocence, you have given an example of your reliance on the justice of your cause, which, we doubt not, will carry conviction to the world and posterity, equal to the verdict of the illustrious tribunal before which you have appeared."

Colonel Sir John Malcolm will not be accused of partiality to Mr. Hastings's political character; yet of that he gives this admirable summary: "In the history of British India, it is admitted, even by those who condemned part of his conduct, that Mr. Hastings, during a time of unexampled public embarrassment, and at a moment when he had to contend against those from whom he should have derived support, shewed all the active energy of a great statesman; and, by his spirited and extraordinary exertions, saved the interests of his country in India from that ruin with which they were threatened; and in which they undoubtedly would have been involved, had a man of less resolution, fortitude, and genius, held the reins of government."

I have since passed one of the happiest days which has fallen to my lot, at Dalesford, the paternal seat of this great man; where, in the bosom of his family and the pleasures of society, hospitality and benevolence, but above all, in the retrospective view of a well-spent

life, he passed the evening of his days in a state of calm delight, far beyond all the wealth and honours to which his country and his sovereign deemed him entitled. Never have I beheld *otium cum dignitate* more truly enjoyed : never was I more convinced of the serenity and happiness of *mens sibi conscia recti*.

Thus Bhaderpoor, though in itself an insignificant place, and nothing in the district very interesting, afforded me much occasional entertainment from meeting with so many travellers. The gurry, or little fortress, situated near the fords of the Ouze, and the pandauls, or open sheds for the collectors of customs, at the pass of the Ore, the two Bhaderpoor rivers, were the general rendezvous of these travellers, in their way to the eastern hills, or coming from the interior to the sacred shrines of Guzerat, and on the latter account very much frequented by Hindoo devotees, and pilgrims of every caste. There I beheld, assembled in the same pandaul, or reposing under the friendly banian-tree, the Gosannee in a state of nudity, and the Yogee with a lark or paroquet, his sole companion for a thousand miles ; the Guroo, of the first rank in the brahminical hierarchy, travelling with oriental pageantry to visit the temples and superintend the seminaries, meeting the brahmacharee, with a covered mouth and nostrils, that he may not inhale an animalcule ; and a soft broom in his hand to sweep the ground, that he may not tread on an insect. There also were religious enthusiasts reduced to a skeleton by abstinence, or almost bursting under a vow of swallowing so many maunds of consecrated ghee. One resting from turning over his body in a rolling posture ; another imploring food from others, by having rendered himself incapable of lower-

ing or moving his arms in consequence of superstitious devotion. But it would be endless as well as needless to enlarge further on these enthusiasts, so often mentioned in these memoirs ; except that in the eastern parts of my districts, attracted no doubt by the sacred fanes at Dhuboy and Chandode, they were more abundant than I ever saw them elsewhere, and seemed to have acquired an unusual degree of consequence.

On the continent they are very often complete Gymnosophists. When they visit the English settlements, some of them, from a little regard to decency, wear a slight covering. Within my recollection, a party of these naked philosophers, amounting to more than two hundred, crossed over from the temple of Vizraboy to Bombay, under a pretence of some religious visit ; they were generally fine looking young men ; athletic, bold, and impudent, beyond any set of Indians I ever met with : they became very troublesome even to the Hindoos, and in the English town were perfectly disgusting. The governor wished to get rid of them without offending the Brahmins, who rather encouraged their visit. The fosse surrounding the fortifications, of great extent and considerable breadth, at that time required cleaning. A government order was issued for all vagabonds, mendicants, and idle persons, who could not give a proper account of themselves, to be immediately employed in cleaning out the town-ditch. The next morning not a travelling yogee, gossannee, senassee, or any of the fraternity, was to be found upon the island.

There are doubtless many in these tribes of wandering enthusiasts who deserve a better character, and are actuated by a spirit of philanthropy, sensibility, and



acuteness of feeling, flowing from a humane and benevolent heart. Their religious tenets, and superstitious prejudices, certainly lead them into many errors ; some excite our pity, a few our censure. Among the former, I recollect a well-authenticated story of an English gentleman, extremely fond of natural and experimental philosophy, being intimate with a liberal-minded Brahmin, who had been educated at Benares, or some other celebrated college ; they generally passed the morning together in the pleasing walks of science. The Brahmin read English books, searched into the Encyclopedia, and profited by the best philosophical instruments. The gentleman, on receiving a valuable solar microscope as a present from Europe, shewed it with rapture to his Hindoo friend ; and, in opposition to the scheme of the metempsychosis, discovered to him the innumerable animalculæ devoured by the Brahmins on every fruit and vegetable they eat ; each of which, like Archdeacon Paley's canary-bird, is a cluster of contrivances.

After a full display of the wonders produced by the new apparatus, the English gentleman, instead of seeing his friend delighted, observed him to be unusually thoughtful, and at length he silently withdrew. On his next visit he requested the gentleman would sell him the microscope ; to this he objected, observing, that it was a present from a friend in Europe, not to be replaced, and while in his possession would afford them a mutual gratification. The Brahmin offered him a very large sum of money, or any Indian commodity of equal value, in hopes of obtaining it, without effect ; at last the gentleman, overcome by incessant importunity at every repeated visit, presented him with the

microscope. A momentary gleam of joy flashed across the Brahmin's countenance on obtaining possession of the object he so ardently desired. They were then in a veranda overlooking a garden, with some kind of artificial rock-work composed of flints and rough stones ; from which the Brahmin, grasping the instrument, descended with a quicker motion than is customary with his caste into the garden ; where, seizing a large stone, he laid the microscope upon the lowest step of the veranda, and instantaneously smashed it to pieces before his astonished friend could prevent him. He flew into a violent passion, and in his heat upbraided the Brahmin with ingratitude, ignorance, and fanaticism. As usual with his caste, he bore all patiently, and respectfully withdrew, saying when he was cool he would pay him a visit, and explain his reasons. Justification was deemed impossible. The Brahmin returning a few days afterwards, met with a polite, if not a welcome reception, and thus addressed his friend : " O that I had remained in that happy state of ignorance wherein you first found me ! yet will I confess that as my knowledge increased, so did my pleasure, until I beheld the last wonders of the microscope ; from that moment I have been tormented by doubt, and perplexed by mystery : my mind, overwhelmed by chaotic confusion, knows not where to rest, nor how to extricate itself from such a maze. I am miserable, and must continue so to be until I enter on another stage of existence. I am a solitary individual among fifty millions of people all educated in the same belief with myself ! all happy in their ignorance ! So may they ever remain ! I shall keep the secret within my own bosom, where it will corrode my

peace and break my rest : but I shall have some satisfaction in knowing that I alone feel those pangs, which had I not destroyed the instrument, might have been extensively communicated, and rendered thousands miserable ! Forgive me, my valuable friend ! and, oh ! convey no more implements of knowledge and destruction !”

Could this man have been instructed in the sublime truth of religious philosophy, could he have been made the mean of imparting a true system of natural theology, happy might have been the consequences ! for a Christian philosopher, after the minutest investigation of which he is capable of, in the great scheme of nature, with a regulated, though fervid rapture finds his mind in a higher state of preparation for the truth and consolations of the Gospel. There it is that the Christian feels himself exalted above the deist and mere natural philosopher. “An undevout astronomer is mad.” It seems impossible to examine the works of nature without adoring the Great Author of nature ; it seems almost equally impossible to read the volume of divine revelation in a spirit of humility and reflection, without being not “almost, but altogether a Christian.” In a comparison between the truths of that holy volume, and the hypotheses of the two prevailing religions in India, the allowed sublimity, as well as the acknowledged puerility, of the Vedas must recede ; the morality and cruelty of the Koran must retire before the tome of divine inspiration. When the sun arises, darkness flies ! On a superficial view, the doctrine of the metempsychosis appears humane and beautiful ; and, until the scheme of Providence is more deeply investigated, the Pythagorean system captivates by a thousand tender suggestions.

Plutarch, in his life of Cato, justly as beautifully observes, that if we kill an animal for our provision, we should do it with the meltings of compassion, and without tormenting it. Let us consider that it is in its own nature cruelty to put a living creature to death; we at least destroy a soul that has sense and perception. It is no more than the obligation of our very birth to practise equity to our own kind; but humanity may be extended through the whole order of creatures, even to the meanest. Such actions of charity are the overflowing of a mild good-nature on all below us.

Situated as I was for many years among the Brahmins in Dhuboy, it was almost impossible not to adopt some of their tenets, and imbibe their benevolent sentiments. There every bird that flew over the city walls found an asylum, every house was crowded with monkeys and squirrels; the trees were filled with peacocks, doves, and parrots; the lake covered by aquatic fowl, and the surrounding groves melodious by bulbuls and warblers of every description. Not a gun molested them. I prevailed with the English officers and soldiers, whenever the garrison was relieved, not to fire a shot within the fortress. I found the edict which I issued respecting the slaughter of oxen, and prohibiting their exposure for sale, procured me a favourable reception among the Hindoos in other places, and it was one cause of the Brahmins presenting me with the images and sculptured ornaments from their dilapidated temples, mentioned in the sequel.

It was not only from the different castes and narrations of religious pilgrims travelling through my districts, that I derived the instruction and entertainment which gave rise to these philosophical dis-

cussions ; I was as frequently amused at the public wells and halting places by the vanjarrahs and their families already described ; and especially by the jugglers, who generally found out the encampments of these travelling merchants. There they spread their carpets, and performed feats of *legerde-main* superior to any I have seen in England ; the most conspicuous was generally one of those women mentioned by Dr. Fryer, who hold nine gilded balls in play, with her hands and feet, and the muscles of her arms and legs, for a long time together, without letting them fall. These people also enable me to confirm another anecdote, which I could not have so scientifically described. This observing traveller says, " I saw a man who swallowed a chain such as our jacks have, and made it clink in his stomach ; but on pulling it out, it was not so pleasant to the ladies, for whose diversion it was brought. I was promised also to see a fellow cast up his tripe by his mouth, stomach and all, shewing them to the beholders ; but this we excused. In his stead was brought another, who by suction, or drawing of his breath, so contracted his lower belly that it had nothing left to support it, but fell flat to his loins, the midriff being forced into the thorax, and the muscles of the abdomen as clearly marked out by the stiff tendons of the *linea alba*, as by the most accurate dissection could be made apparent ; he moving each row, like living columns, by turns."

These people were frequently accompanied by strolling comedians, who acted Hindoo plays in the style of the *fantoccini*. I never saw any Indian theatricals on a larger scale : but on these occasions I have at

times heard some very humorous and witty dialogues, but never witnessed a representation that offended piety, morality, or delicacy. That some of their dramatic writings merit very high encomium, we may judge from the beautiful play of *Sacontala*, translated by Sir William Jones. Nothing can be more innocent, or illustrative of the simplicity of ancient Hindoo manners. The stage ought every where to be a school for virtue. Addison justly remarks, that theatrical entertainments were invented for the accomplishment and refinement of human nature; and the Athenian and Roman plays were written with such a regard to morality, that Socrates used often to frequent the one, and Cicero the other.

In the preface to *Sacontala*, Sir William Jones observes, that “by whomsoever or in whatever age the entertainment of dramatic poetry was invented, it is very certain, that it was carried to great perfection in its kind when Vicramáditya, who reigned in the first century before Christ, gave encouragement to poets, philologers, and mathematicians, at a time when the Britons were as unlettered and unpolished as the army of Hanumat. Nine men of genius, commonly called the Nine Gems, attended his court, and were splendidly supported by his bounty. Calidas, the author of *Sacontala*, and the Shakespeare of India, is unanimously allowed to have been one of them. Some of his contemporaries, and other Hindoo poets even to our own times, have composed so many tragedies, comedies, farces, and musical pieces, that the Indian theatre would fill as many volumes as that of any nation in ancient or modern Europe. They are all in verse where the dialogue is elevated, and in

prose where it is familiar: the men of rank and learning are represented speaking pure Sanscrit, and the women Prácrit; which is little more than the language of the Brahmins melted down by a delicate articulation to the softness of Italian; while the low personæ of the drama speak the vulgar dialects of the several provinces, which they are supposed to inhabit."

I had no European officer, serjeant, or soldier, either at Bhaderpoor or Zinore, nor even a Bombay sepoy; the garrison of Dhuboy was too weak to admit of more than a detachment to each place from the byracs of Arabs and Scindians stationed there for the general protection of the district. The former were mostly natives of Arabia, the latter of the country bordering upon the Indus. I had frequently an escort of these people; and living so much among them under banian-trees, and open sheds, afforded me an opportunity of seeing their manners and customs. In the Arabian byracs were a few officers of high character; but in general, those who emigrate to India, and enter into the service of foreign governments, are not men of the best families; the commanders of the greatest respectability attach themselves to the Mahratta chieftains, and different princes of India, and while well paid and properly treated, form excellent subsidiary troops, brave, hardy, and faithful. Some of them, armed with matchlocks and sabres, usually marched with the little escort of cavalry which necessarily accompanied me in my rural excursions.

Similar to the usual accounts of the Arabians in their own country, I found those in the Company's service attached, hospitable, and friendly on all occa-

sions. They take more exercise than the Indians, and those who keep horses are generally fond of field sports. For which purpose, besides the dogs and chetaus they often possess, they train hawks and falcons for the purpose of hunting antelopes and other game in the forests. As usual, they carry the bird hood-winked to the chase: on discovering a herd of deer the bird is uncovered, and, after taking a general survey, singles out one as his prey; then mounting aloft he darts down repeatedly on the head of the animal, especially on the eyes, until it is so confused and wounded by the beak and talons of the falcon, that it is unable to make further resistance. There the bird clings fast, until the huntsman cuts the antelope's throat, and satiates the little victor with its blood.

The Arabs were very fond of fighting-rams: one of the commanders presented me with a pair of an uncommon size and wonderful power; but they were so expensive in their food, and afforded me so little pleasure by their prowess, that I soon returned them to the donor: after every combat they were regaled with almonds, raisins, and pistachio nuts, as a reward for courage, and renewal of strength. The Indians, from the prince on the musnud, to the subahdar of a small fortress, keep fighting animals. In the acme of Mogul splendour, the menageries of the emperors and great omrahs were stored with elephants, lions, tigers, and other beasts, trained for combat; those who can afford it still retain a few for that purpose: men in inferior stations are content with fighting-rams, goats, game-cocks, and quails.

The modern Arabians practise the same hospitality as



Abraham, and the ancient patriarchs. I often partook with my Arabs of a dish common in Arabia called kabob, or kab-ab, which is meat cut into small pieces and placed on thin skewers, alternately between slices of onion and green ginger, seasoned with pepper, salt, and kian, fried in ghee, or clarified butter, to be ate with rice and dholl, a sort of split-pea, boiled with the rice. This is a savoury dish, generally liked by the English, and sometimes, as a great delicacy, we roasted a lamb or kid whole, stuffed with almonds, raisins, and spices; or pistachio nuts only, highly seasoned.

Many of these Arabs and Scindians had tame deer, antelopes, and ichneumons, which followed the byrac, and, with their dogs and horses, shared in all the variety of their wandering life. A tame antelope is a very pleasant companion; I kept one a considerable time; as also another beautiful species of deer, which I brought up from a fawn; it became perfectly familiar, and partook of every food congenial to its palate, which had not touched the lips, or beer breathed upon by any of the family. The antelopes are said to have an ear for music; I do not assert it from my own experience, but it is generally believed in India: and, in confirmation, Sir Charles Malet favoured me with the following account of an entertainment given by the Mahratta sovereign, at one of his parks near Poonah, in 1792.

“The peshwa having invited me to a novel spectacle, at his *runma*, or park, about four miles from Poonah, I proceeded thither about two o'clock in the afternoon, with the gentlemen of my party; where we found a tent pitched for the purpose, and were received at the door by some of the principal nobles.

The peshwa arrived soon after ; and when we were all conveniently seated on carpets, agreeably to oriental costume, four black buck antelopes, of noble mien and elegant form, made their appearance at some distance, moving gracefully before a party of cavalry, who forming a semicircle, gently followed their pace, each horseman holding a long pole, with a red cloth at the end. On approaching the tent, a band of music struck up in loud notes, and three of the antelopes entered in a stately manner. Two swings, commonly used by the Indians, being suspended for the purpose, an antelope ascended on each swing, and couched in the most graceful attitude ; the third reclined on the carpet in a similar posture. On the loud music ceasing, a set of dancing-girls entered, and danced to softer strains before the antelopes ; who, chewing the cud, lay in a state of sweet tranquillity and satisfaction. At this time the fourth antelope, who had hitherto appeared more shy than his comrades, came into the tent and laid himself upon the carpet in the same manner. An attendant then put one of the swings in motion, and swung the antelope for some time, without his being at all disturbed. The amusement having continued as long as the peshwa thought proper, it was closed by the game-keeper placing a garland of flowers over the horns of the principal antelope, on which he rose, and the four animals went off together. “ The peshwa informed me, that seven months had been employed to bring the antelopes to this degree of familiarity, without the smallest constraint, as they wandered at their pleasure, during the whole time, amongst large herds of deer in the *runma* ; which, although I have mentioned as a park, is not enclosed,

nor has it any kind of fence. I was also assured these animals were not impelled by appetite, no grain or food of any kind having been given them: on this I am somewhat of a sceptic. The peshwa was persuaded they were thus attracted by the power of music; aided, perhaps, by some particular ingenuity of the men who profess the art of familiarizing this beautiful and harmless animal. The peshwa seemed to be much pleased with the amusement; which in innocence is suited to the tenets of the Brahmins, if not to their present character."

While the mischievous monkey, as well as the innocent dove, found an asylum within the walls of Dhuboy, the adjacent country was infested by tigers and savage beasts; who, in defiance of Pythagorean systems and Brahminical tenets, waged perpetual war on the antelopes and innocent animals near the villages; even the monkeys with all their wily craftiness could not escape them. The peasants in the wilds of Bhaderpoor confirmed the stratagem used by the tiger to effect his purpose, as mentioned by Dr. Fryer. "The woodmen assert, that when the tiger intends to prey upon the monkies, he uses this stratagem: the monkies, at his first approach, give warning by their confused chattering, and immediately betake themselves to the highest and smallest twigs of the trees; when the tiger, seeing them out of his reach, and sensible of their fright, lies couchant under the tree, and then falls a roaring; at which they, trembling, let go their hold, and tumbling down, he picks them up to satisfy his hunger."

As I did not always travel with the Arabs and Scindians lately mentioned, I found it necessary to be

escorted, in the distant parts of my purgunnas, by a little troop of cavalry, and a number of armed peons; not so much from the fear of tigers and wild beasts, as of the Bheels and Gracias, a savage race of men who inhabit the hills and woodlands near Bhadepoor and Chandode. The protection I afforded the villages against their cruel depredations, irritated these savages against me; and by experience I found that the severity of the Mahratta government was more efficacious in controlling these people than British lenity. Not long after my arrival at Dhuboy, sitting at dinner with a young gentleman lately arrived from England, the chopdar introduced some peasants bearing a dish covered with a napkin, which, supposing it to contain a peacock, or part of an antelope, I desired might be put on the table. I attempt not to describe our horror and astonishment when, on lifting up the cloth, we beheld a man's head just decollated. It was the head of a savage Gracia killed during the preceding night by the vertunnees, or armed men of a village, where a party of them had made a descent to commit robbery and murder.

Nothing shocks humanity more than to read of Marc Antony's delight at seeing the heads of Cicero and the noble Romans he had proscribed, except the idea of the two princesses in Palcstine, a mother and a daughter, the one presenting, and the other receiving, the head of the Baptist in a charger. True it is, that the Persian monarchs heaped up pyramids of heads at their palace gates, and a king of Israel received them in baskets; in the same manner as Hyder Ally and his son Tippoo were regaled at breakfast with a vesselful of the ears and noses of our poor

sepoys who fell into their hands. My young friend and myself were so disgusted by the sight of a single head, and so much did it militate against British feeling, that I immediately issued the most public orders to prohibit such transactions in future. With concern I found this did not prove an act of mercy to the villages, who, in consequence, became more exposed to the atrocity of these cruel banditti.

Cruelty was not peculiar to the Gracias, or the less civilized parts of Guzerat; I met with frequent instances, in various ranks of society, inconsistent with the mild tenets of Hinduism, or with common humanity. I shall mention one only, which occurred during an excursion to the confines of the Brodera purgunna, in a village contiguous to my encampment; where the women, assembling, as usual, at day-break to draw water for their families and cattle, found the body of a beautiful young woman, richly dressed, in the public well. Two strangers on horseback arrived at the country late in the preceding evening, and desired permission from the tandar, (an officer who has the care of a certain number of villages) to pass the night there, as travellers. They were both armed, and one of them had a large bag tied behind him: no further notice was taken of them, and before morning they departed. From subsequent inquiries I had every reason to suppose this young girl was one of the ladies in Futtý Sihng's haram; and having incurred the displeasure of a jealous tyrant, was, by his order, thrown alive into the well; a fate similar to that of the unfortunate female mentioned in Ragobah's haram during the Mahratta campaign. I preserved a bracelet, composed of alternate beads of embossed gold and

coral, taken from the arm of the ill-fated beauty in my district, in remembrance of her cruel fate.

The tandar and Hindoo police officers requested me on this occasion to send for some of the Bhauts, already mentioned, or some other soothsayers, from Serulan and Chandode; who are supposed to possess the art of divination, and are in consequence the reputed prophets and seers of the country: these they pretended would inform me of the truth, and prevent an improper suspicion. But being then within a few miles of Brodera, Futtu Sihng's capital, I collected many circumstances which left me no doubt of the murderer, and considering it altogether as a foreign concern, I took no further notice of the deed.

The wilds of Bhaderpoor, at the foot of the eastern hills, are romantic and beautiful, finely wooded, and abounding with flowing streams at all seasons; in this respect it resembles the Scripture Jotbath, a land of rivers of waters (Deut. chap. x. ver. 7), an appellation of a very significant meaning in the torrid zone.

But, as I have already observed, it is dangerous to visit this delightful scenery without a large party of armed men, both on account of the Bheels and savage animals with which they abound: the number of tigers, leopards, and panthers is immense. During the viceroyship of the Mogul princes in Guzerat, and also at a later period among some of the Mahratta chieftains, it was customary for these great men, and their numerous attendants, to pitch their tents in unfrequented tracts, for the purpose of hunting those ferocious beasts. Their encampments, especially of the Moguls, were extensive and magnificent; there they entertained their friends in a sumptuous manner during the con-

tinuance of the hunt, which sometimes lasted several weeks.

I have occasionally joined the European parties in their tiger hunts, as particularly mentioned in the wilds of Turcaseer. The forests on the confines of Bhaderpoor, are equally wild and infested with beasts of prey. As I can offer nothing so interesting upon this subject as a description of a tiger hunt in Bengal, the subject of a letter from Sir John Day to Sir William Jones, which I have had for many years in my possession, I shall not apologize for inserting so highly-finished a picture of this royal sport; which was given to me by a very intimate friend of the writer, and has not to my knowledge appeared in print.

*Description of a tiger-hunt, upon the banks of the Ganges, near Chinsura in Bengal, in April 1784.*

Although you could not partake of the pleasure, I am resolved that you shall not entirely escape the fatigue of our enterprize; and with that laudable view, although we have not returned more than an hour, and at this moment a sound sleep were heaven to me, I snatch the pen to give you the following hasty and imperfect description of the business of the day.

Matters had been thus judiciously arranged: tents were sent off yesterday, and an encampment formed within a mile and a half of the jungle which was to be the scene of our operations; and in this jungle the thickets of long rank grass and reeds are in many places fifteen feet high. At one o'clock this morning thirty elephants, with the servants, and refreshments of all kinds, were dispatched; at two we all followed

in fly-palanquins; at a quarter after four we reached the encampment, and having rested near two hours, we mounted our elephants, and proceeded to the jungle.

In our way we met with game of all kinds: hares, antelopes, hog-deer, wild boars, and wild buffaloes; but nothing could divert our attention from the fiercer and more glorious game.

At the grey of the dawn we formed a line of great extent, and entered a small detached jungle. My elephant (sorely against my grain, but there was no remedy, for my driver was a keen sportsman, and he and I spoke no common language,) passed through the centre, but happily no tiger had at that hour nestled there. I saw, however, as I passed through it, the bed of one, in which there were an half-devoured bullock and two human skulls; with a heap of bones, some bleached, and some still red with gore.

We had not proceeded five hundred yards beyond the jungle, when we heard a general cry on our left of "Baug, baug, baug!" On hearing this exclamation of "tiger!" we wheeled; and forming the line anew, entered the great jungle, when the spot where a single tiger lay having been pointed, on the discharge of the first gun a scene presented itself confessed by all the experienced tiger hunters present to be the finest they had ever seen. Five full-grown royal tigers sprang together from the same spot, where they had sat in bloody congress. They ran diversely; but running heavily, they all couched again in new covers within the same jungle, and all were marked. We followed, having formed the line into a crescent, so as to embrace either extremity of the jungle: in the centre were the



hondar (or state) elephants, with the marksmen, and the ladies, to comfort and encourage them.

When we had slowly and warily approached the spot where the first tiger lay, he moved not until we were just upon him ; when, with a roar that resembled thunder, he rushed upon us. The elephants wheeled off at once, and (for it is not to be described by any quadruped-motion we know, I must therefore coin a term for the occasion) shuffled off. They returned, however, after a flight of about fifty yards, and again approaching the spot where the tiger had lodged himself, towards the skirts of the jungle, he once more rushed forth, and springing at the side of an elephant upon which three of the natives were mounted, at one stroke tore a portion of the pad from under them ; and one of the riders, panic struck, fell off. The tiger, however, seeing his enemies in force, returned, slow and indignant, into his shelter ; where, the place he lay in being marked, a heavy and well-directed fire was poured in by the principal marksmen ; when, pushing in, we saw him in the struggle of death, and growling and foaming he expired.

We then proceeded to seek the others, having first distinguished the spot by pitching a tall spear, and tying to the end of it the muslin of a turban. We roused four in close succession, and with a little variation of circumstances, killed them all ; the oldest, and most ferocious of the family, had, however, early in the conflict, very sensibly quitted the scene of action, and escaped to another part of the country.

While the fate of the last and largest was depending, more shots were fired than in the three other attacks ;

he escaped four several assaults, and taking post in different parts of the jungle, rushed upon us at each wound he received with a kindled rage, and as often put the whole line to flight. In the last pursuit he singled out the elephant upon which Lady Day was ; and was at its tail, with jaws distended, and in the act of rising upon his hind paws to fasten on her, when fortunately she cleared the jungle ; and a general discharge from the hunters having forced him to give up the chace, he returned to his shelter. The danger, I believe, was not very great ; but it was sufficient, when she shall be again invited, to make her say with Lord Chesterfield, when they attempted to allure him to a second fox-hunt, "*I have been.*"

The chase being over, we returned in triumph to our encampment, and were followed by the spoils of the morning, and by an accumulating multitude of the peasants from the circumjacent villages, who pressed round an open tent in which we sat at breakfast, with gratulations, blessings, and thanksgivings. The four tigers were laid in front ; the natives viewed them with terror, and some with tears.

An old woman, looking earnestly at the largest tiger, and pointing at times to his tusks, and at times lifting his fore-paws, and viewing his talons, her furrows bathed in tears, in broken and moaning tones narrated something to a little circle composed of three Brahmins and a young woman with a child in her arms. No human misery could pierce the phlegm and apathy of the Brahmins, and with them there was not a feature softened ; but horror and sorrow were alternately painted in the face of the female ; and, from her clasping at times her child more closely to her breast,

I guessed the subject of the old woman's story, and upon inquiry I found that I was right in my conjecture. She was widowed and childless; she owed both her misfortunes to the tigers of that jungle, and most probably to those which then lay dead before her; for they, it was believed, had recently carried off her husband and her two sons grown up to manhood, and now she wanted food: in the phrenzy of her grief she alternately described her loss to the crowd, and in a wild scream demanded her husband and her children from the tigers; indeed it was a piteous spectacle!

The site of our encampment was well chosen; it was a small sloping lawn, the verdure fresh, and skirted on three sides with trees; the fourth bounded by the deep bed of a torrent-river. At proper distances on this lawn, there were five large and commodious tents, pitched in a semicircle: that in which we all assembled, and passed the sultry part of the day, was carpeted, and by means of the tattees of aromatic grass, continually watered, kept at a temperature pretty near to that of an April day in England. Here we had a luxurious cold dinner, with a variety of excellent wines, and other liquors, well cooled; and while we dined, the French-horns and clarionets played marches, hunting-pieces descriptive of the death of the game, and other slow movements; the tigers still lying in front, and the people still assembled, but retired to a greater distance; where they anxiously waited the signal for skinning and cutting up the slain; for with them the fat of a tiger is a panacea, the tongue dried and pulverized a sovereign specific in nervous cases, and every part applicable to some use; even the

whiskers they deem a deadly poison, and most anxiously, but secretly, seek them, as the means, in drink, of certain destruction to an enemy.

Dinner over, the tigers skinned, and the flesh and offal distributed, as soon as the sun declined, we returned to Chinsura; and here ends the history of the chase; in which I have been thus minute, that you may be tempted to accompany us in some future expedition; and if not, that you may be able to say that you have been authentically informed upon the subject by an eye-witness.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Zinore Purgunna—Town of Zinore—Manufactures—Presents from Zemindars—Brahmins of Guzerat—History of Shaik Edroos, a leper—Kama-deva, the God of love—Religious groves—Wretched state of the Chandalahs—Mud-palace at Zinore—Amiable traits in the Hindoo character—Bhauts and Churruns—Fortune-telling Brahmins—Three extraordinary anecdotes of Prophecies fulfilled, after predictions by a celebrated Soothsayer.

ANOTHER purgunna under my management, called Zinore, contained a tolerable town and fifty villages. Zinore, the capital of the district, was fifteen miles south from Dhuboy, and forty to the eastward of Baroche. Neither the public or private buildings were of much importance; but it was delightfully situated on the steep banks of the Nerbudda; with a noble flight of a hundred stone steps from the houses to the water-side, which would have added to the grandeur of a much larger city. The Hindoo temples, Brahminical groves, and a few superior houses, indicate its having been once a place of consequence. When I took possession of it for the Company, it contained about ten thousand inhabitants; generally weavers of coarse cotton cloth, for the Persian and Arabian markets, with some finer baftas and muslins for home consumption. Very few of these cottons are dyed or painted at Dhuboy or Zinore; the art has

attained a much greater perfection at Ahmedabad and Surat.

Cotton grows abundantly in most parts of the Zinore purgunna ; the cultivation, gathering, cleaning, spinning, and weaving this valuable production, employs the inhabitants of all ages. Throughout the greater part of Guzerat we may apply Orme's remarks on the manufactures of Coromandel, that a people born under a sun too sultry to admit the exercise and fatigue necessary to form a robust nation, endeavour to obtain their scanty livelihood by the easiest labour : it is from hence, perhaps, that the manufactures of cloth are so multiplied in Hindostan. Spinning and weaving are the slightest tasks which a man can be set to ; and it is observable, that the manufactures prevail most, both in quantity and perfection, where the people are least capable of robust labour. It is difficult in such provinces to find a village in which almost every man, woman, and child, is not employed in the cotton manufacture. The loom is fixed under a tree, and the thread laid the whole length of the cloth. The Hindoo weaver is not a despicable caste ; he is next to the scribe, and above all mechanics. These people produce works of extraordinary niceness ; and as much as an Indian is born deficient in mechanical strength, so much is his whole frame endowed with an exceeding degree of sensibility and plianthood. Orme, speaking of the silk manufactory in Bengal, says, " the women wind off the raw silk from the pod of the worm : a single pod of raw silk is divided into twenty different degrees of fineness ; and so exquisite is the feeling of these women, that whilst the thread is



running through their fingers so swiftly that their eye can be of no assistance, they will break it off exactly as the assortments change, at once from the first to the twentieth, from the nineteenth to the second."

At no period have the manufactures of Guzerat or the Deccan equalled in fineness and delicacy the muslins of Bengal and the eastern provinces: and yet, fine as they now are, they were formerly of a more exquisite texture. The fall of the Moguls, who spared no expense for these articles, is perhaps a principal reason for their decline. As an extraordinary instance of their curious texture, Tavernier mentions, that when the ambassadors of Shah Sefi, king of Persia, returned from India, he presented his royal master a cocoa-nut, richly set with jewels, containing a muslin turban, sixty covits, or thirty English yards in length, so extremely fine, that it could hardly be felt by the touch. Some of the Cachemirean shawls are of so delicate a fabric that they may be drawn through a wedding ring.

In the Zinore purgunna, a country little known in the annals of Hindostan, I saw human nature almost in primitive simplicity, but far removed from the savage condition of the Indians of America, or the natives of the South-sea islands. The state of civil society in which the Hindoos are united in these remote situations, seems to admit of no change or amelioration. Among the inferior castes, whose minds are uncultivated, and who have no communication with the rest of the world, I found it next to an impossibility to introduce a single improvement in agriculture, building, or any useful art or science. In

any nation, where the art of printing is unknown, and no books are introduced, the higher classes can enjoy but little intellectual pleasure.

I sometimes frequented places where the natives had never seen an European, and were ignorant of every thing concerning us: there I beheld manners and customs simple as were those in the patriarchal age; there, in the very style of Rebecca and the damsels of Mesopotamia, the Hindoo villagers treated me with that artless hospitality so delightful in the poems of Homer, and other ancient records. On a sultry day, near a Zinore village, having rode faster than my attendants, while waiting their arrival under a tamarind tree, a young woman came to the well; I asked for a little water, but neither of us having a drinking vessel, she hastily left me, as I imagined, to bring an earthen cup for the purpose, as I should have polluted a vessel of metal: but as Jacl, when Siscra asked for water, "gave him milk, and brought forth butter in a lordly dish,"—Judges, ch. v. ver. 25, so did this village damsel, with more sincerity than Heber's wife, bring me a pot of milk, and a lump of butter on the delicate leaf of the banana, "the lordly dish" of the Hindoos. The former I gladly accepted: on my declining the latter, she immediately made it up into two balls, and gave one to each of the oxen that drew my hackery. Butter is a luxury to these animals, and enables them to bear additional fatigue.

On my first arrival at Zinore, the zemindars, as customary, paid me a respectful visit, bringing presents of money and jewels: those I refused, except one rupee; which, notwithstanding every injunction to the contrary, I did take from the head zemindar of

each district under my charge. These four rupees I preserve in remembrance of the people among whom I lived, who would have been hurt at a total refusal. Although prohibited by oaths and covenants from accepting any valuable presents, I did not refuse what they sent for me and my people to the shamyanah I fixed near the bank of the river, for want of a more comfortable residence in the town. These articles so exactly resembled those which Barzillai and his friends brought to David at Mahanaim, that hardly a single word need be altered: "Shobi, and Machir, and Barzillai brought beds, and basons, and earthen vessels, and wheat and barley, and flour, and parched *corn*, and beans, and lentiles, and parched *pulse*, and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine, for David, and for the people that were with him to eat: for they said the people is hungry, and weary, and thirsty in the wilderness." II. Samuel, ch. xvii. ver. 27, 28, 29.

The more I saw of the Hindoos in those remote districts, the more I perceived the truth of Orme's remark, that Hindostan has been inhabited from the earliest antiquity, by a people who have no resemblance, either in their figure, or manners, with any of the nations contiguous to them; and that although conquerors have established themselves at different times, in various parts of India, yet the original inhabitants have lost very little of their original character.

A few of the Guzerat Brahmins, especially at Zinore and Chandode, were men of education, who had studied at Benares, and were masters of the Sanscreeet language, that inexhaustible mine of Hindoo literature, art, and science; which, Sir William Jones says, is "a most wonderful structure; more perfect than the

Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs, and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists."

Those towns on the banks of the Nerbudda, so famous for Brahmin seminaries, contain numerous schools for the education of other boys: these are generally in the open air, on the shady side of the house. The scholars sit on mats, or cow-dung floors, and are taught as much of religion as their caste admits of; as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic; the two latter by making letters and figures in sand upon the floor, which I have before observed is the oriental manner of instruction.

Near Zinore were several monuments in memory of those devotees, so often mentioned, who bury themselves alive, in hopes of expiating their sins, or of pleasing the destructive powers by such a sacrifice; and under the lofty banks of the Nerbudda, as on the shores of the Ganges, I was told the Hindoos sometimes drown their sick and aged parents.

From my little encampment on the banks of this river, although accustomed to such spectacles at Baroche and Surat, I have been frequently astonished at the number of both sexes in the water during great part of the day. From Zinore to Chandode the stream is reckoned peculiarly holy; and there not only religious purity, but healing efficacy, is annexed to the ablution. Pilgrims from distant provinces resort thi-

their insteps being all naked. In this manner, like humble penitents, they go from Rabbock to the temple of Mecca, enduring the scorching heat of the sun until the skin is burnt off their backs and arms, and their heads swollen to a great degree. It was a sight to pierce the heart, to behold so many thousands in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and cheeks watered with tears ; and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins ; promising newness of life, using a form of penitential expressions, and thus continuing for the space of four or five hours.

The Hindoo temples at Zinore, though smaller and less splendid than those at Chandode, are esteemed peculiarly sacred ; and some of the sculpture and paintings, as the works of modern times, are interesting, and superior to those generally met with. Among the statues of the inferior deities in the Hindoo mythology, there appear to be many allusions to Camdeo, or Kama deva, who, Sir William Jones informs us, is the same with the Grecian Eros, and the Roman Cupido ; but the Indian description of his person and arms, his family, attendants, and attributes, has new and peculiar beauties.

According to the mythology of Hindostan, “ he was the son of Maya, or the general *attracting* power, and married to Retty, or *Affection*, and his bosom friend is Bessent, or *Spring*. He is represented as a beautiful youth, sometimes conversing with his mother and consort, in the midst of his gardens and temples ; sometimes riding by moonlight on a parrot or lory, and attended by dancing-girls, or nymphs ; the foremost of whom bears his colours, which are a fish, on a red

ground. His favourite place of resort is a large tract of country round Agra, and principally the plains of Matra, where Krishen also, and the nine Gopia, who are clearly the Apollo and muses of the Greeks, usually spend the night with music and dancing. His bow of sugar-cane, or flowers, with a string of bees, and his five arrows, each pointed with an Indian blossom, of a healing quality, are allegories equally new and beautiful."

Sir William Jones has translated a hymn to Camdeo, which is replete with beauty and oriental imagery. from which I shall only select these stanzas, as a most elegant illustration of the character of this powerful deity, and especially of his bow and arrows:—

" What potent god from Agra's orient bowers  
Floats through the lucid air, whilst living flowers  
With sunny twine the vocal arbors wreath,  
And gales enamour'd heavenly fragrance breathe?  
Hail, pow'r unknown, for at thy beck  
Vales and groves their bosoms deck;  
And every laughing blossom dresses  
With gems of dew his musky tresses.  
I feel, I feel thy genial flame divine,  
And hallow thee, and kiss thy shrine.

" God of the flowery shafts and flowery bow,  
Delight of all above and all below!  
Thy lov'd companion, constant from his birth,  
In heaven yclep'd *Bessent*, and gay *Spring* on earth,  
Weaves thy green robe and flaunting bowers,  
And from thy clouds draws balmy showers;  
He with fresh arrows fills thy quiver,  
(Sweet the gift, and sweet the giver!)  
And bids the many-plum'd warbling throng  
Burst the pent blossoms with their song.

“ He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string  
With bees how sweet ! but ah, how keen their sting !  
He with five flow’rets tips thy ruthless darts,  
Which through five senses pierce enraptur’d hearts :  
Strong *Champa*, rich in odorous gold,  
Warm *Amer*, nurs’d in heavenly mould,  
Dry *Nagkeser*, in silver smiling,  
Hot *Kitticum* our sense beguiling,  
And last, to kindle fierce the scorching flame  
*Loveshaft*, which gods bright *Bela* name.

“ Thy mildest influence to thy Bard impart,  
To warm, but not consume, his heart.”

The temples of Guzerat abound with phallic representations ; and with figures of most of the deities, who become the alternate objects of worship : for the northern Brahmins, as well as those mentioned by Dr. Buchanan in Malabar, “ when in sickness and distress, invoke with fear and trembling the power of Bhairava, and of the female Sactis ; who were formerly, perhaps, considered by the natives as the malignant spirits of the woods, mountains, and rivers ; and worshipped by sacrifices, like the gods of the rude tribes which now inhabit the hilly country east from Bengal, and whose poverty has hitherto prevented the incursions of the sacred orders of their more learned western neighbours.”

In the groves surrounding the Guzerat temples, as in many other parts of India, are sacred bulls, belonging to their respective Dewals. These animals, after being dedicated with great ceremony, by the Brahmins, to different deities, have a distinguishing mark set upon them, and are permitted to go whither they

please ; and to eat whatever they like, of grain, provender, or crops in the fields ; not only without molestation, but frequently by invitation ; these consecrated animals seem to be as much venerated as the Apis in ancient Egypt. Where they are not kept within the precincts of the temples, as also where they most abound, there is generally a representation of one or more of the race, sculptured in marble, stone, or petrified rice, reposing under the banian or peepal trees ; living or dead they are supposed to add to the sanctity of these holy retreats. I mentioned the nearly fatal consequence of my having inadvertently strayed into one of these enclosures in Malabar : I met with no such prohibition in Guzerat, neither within my own purgunnahs, nor any other ; I seldom entered the temples, but often read or made a sketch under the same banian tree with the officiating Brahmin and his associates, without giving the least offence.

The prophetic writings contain many allusions to Hindoo customs : “ They inflame themselves with idols under every green tree : among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion ; even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, hast thou offered a meat-offering.” Isaiah, ch. lvii. ver. 5, 6. These smooth and shapeless stones have been at all times an object of worship : it appears extraordinary, when we consider the elegant form of the Venus di Medici, Venus Urania, or any other statue of this celebrated Grecian goddess, that when Titus visited Cyprus, the statue of the Paphian Venus had no resemblance to the human form, but was a round figure, broad at the base, and growing fine by degrees, until, like a cone, it lessened to a point. The translator, in



a note on this passage in Tacitus, remarks that Clemens of Alexandria supposes the statuary had not the skill to give the elegance of symmetry and proportion ; he therefore left the form and delicacy of Venus to the imagination : as Ovid says, *is qua latent, meliora putat*. Tacitus observes, the reason, whatever it be, is not explained ; whether it has any allusion to the uncouth lingam, or any other almost shapeless stone altars of the Hindoos, I am not competent to determine.

In the out-skirts of Zinore, separated from all other inhabitants of the town, were a number of poor Chandalahs.

I sometimes frequented the jatterahs, or religious festivals, at the Hindoo temples of Zinore and Chandode ; or rather I mingled with the motley crowd who then assembled under the sacred groves on the banks of the Nerbudda. It is unnecessary to repeat the religious ceremonies, or the sports and pastimes of the Hindoos, who, in astonishing numbers, resort to these consecrated spots on such occasions. At the jatterah of Cubbeer-Burr, near Baroche, the pilgrims, of various descriptions, often exceeded a hundred thousand, without reckoning the comedians, dancing-girls, snake-charmers, jugglers, and those of similar professions, who came to amuse them. I have elsewhere mentioned some feats of the Indian jugglers ; at Zinore I saw one which surpassed every thing of the kind I had before witnessed, I mean the swallowing a sword up to the hilt. Had I not afterwards met with the same set on the island of Salsette, exhibiting before the English Chief at Tannah, I should have doubted the evidence of my senses. I witnessed the

fact more than once, and was convinced there was no deception. Mr. Johnson's account of this extraordinary feat, and description, as a professional man, may be interesting, although no longer an uncommon exhibition even in England : as such I transcribe it.

“ Having been visited by one of these conjurers, I resolved to see clearly his mode of performing this operation ; and for that purpose ordered him to seat himself on the floor of the verandah. The sword he intended to use, has some resemblance to a common spit in shape, except at the handle, which is merely a part of the blade itself, rounded and elongated into a little rod. It is from twenty-two to twenty-six inches in length, about an inch in breadth, and about one-fifth of an inch in thickness ; the edges and point are blunt, being rounded, and of the same thickness as the rest of the blade ; it is of iron or steel, smooth, and a little bright.

“ Having satisfied myself with respect to the sword, by attempting to bend it, and by striking it against a stone, I firmly grasped it by the handle, and ordered him to proceed. He first took a small phial of oil, and with one of his fingers rubbed a little of it over the surface of the instrument : then, stretching up his neck as much as possible, and bending himself a little backwards, he introduced the point of it into his mouth, and pushed it gently down his throat, until my hand, which was on the handle, came in contact with his lips. He then made a sign to me with one of his hands, to feel the point of the instrument between his breast and navel ; which I could plainly do, by bending him a little more backwards, and pressing my fingers on his stomach, he being a very thin and lean

fellow. On letting go the handle of the sword, he instantly fixed on it a little machine that spun round, and disengaged a small firework, which encircling his head with a blue flame, gave him, as he then sat, a truly diabolical appearance. On withdrawing the instrument, several parts of its surface were covered with blood, which shewed that he was still obliged to use a degree of violence in the introduction.

“I was at first a good deal surprised at this transaction altogether; but when I came to reflect a little upon it, there appeared nothing at all improbable, much less impossible in the business. He told me, on giving him a trifle, that he had been accustomed from his early years, to introduce at first small elastic instruments down his throat, and into his stomach; that by degrees he had used larger ones, until at length he was able to use the present iron sword.

“As I mentioned before, the great flexibility of their joints and muscles, the laxness of their fibres, and their temperate mode of life, render them capable of having considerable violence done to the fleshy parts of their bodies, without any danger of the inflammation, and other bad effects, which would be produced in the irritable bodies of Europeans; witness their being whirled round on the point of a pole, suspended by a hook thrust into the fleshy part of their backs, without experiencing any fatal consequences.

“There is, therefore, no great wonder, if by long habit, in stretching up their necks, they are able to bring the different windings of the stomach into a straight line, or nearly so; and thereby slide down

the sword into the latter organ without much difficulty."

I seldom pitched my tent, or spread a shahmyana near any principal town in Guzerat, but some of these people, or a set of dancing-girls, made their appearance. They generally likewise presented themselves in front of my mud-walled palace at Zinore, when I took up my abode in the town, during a short visit in the rainy season. The inclemency of the weather then compelled me to live in a Hindoo house, situated near the lofty bank of the Nerbudda. Unlike an oriental durbar, this building was little more than a pendall, or open hall, with two small chambers, formed of mud and unburnt bricks, between a frame of wood; an elevated bench, composed of the same materials, surrounded the front veranda, which, with the floors, and the whole interior of the house, was always washed over with a thick wash of cow-dung and water; this, when perfectly dry, had a neat and cleanly appearance; and from having no glare, was, at least in that respect, preferable to a white-wash. A cotton carpet, camp-chair, and table, were my only furniture; my travelling palankeen formed my bed, its purdoo or chintz covering my curtains. The women and children decked this humble tenement with mogrees and fragrant flowers, and brought the little necessities I wanted. There I sometimes passed a few days very pleasantly among those innocent and simple people.

Under that description I do not include the zemindars, and officers in the revenue department, with whom I was under a necessity of passing the morning in public business: their oppressive conduct was

an alloy to every gratification I should otherwise have enjoyed. The wives and daughters of these zemindars, and especially the higher classes of the Brahmin women, impressed a very pleasing idea of the female character; mild, gentle, and affectionate, they seem formed to make good wives and good mothers: ignorant of the world, and the various temptations to which European females are liable, religious and domestic duties engross their chief attention. It is notwithstanding a just remark of the Hindoo women, that "they are flowers of too short a duration not to be delicate, and too delicate to be lasting."

Although I am so frequently under the necessity of reproaching the corrupt zemindars, I have made much greater pleasure in bearing witness to many amiable traits in the Hindoo character; who, notwithstanding the natural prejudices of caste, religion, and habit, generally shewed an affectionate and grateful attachment to their English employers. Yet so contradictory is their character, that superstition leads them to most extraordinary deviations from every thing that is humane, gentle, and praiseworthy.

There were a few families of the Bhauts, or Churans, in Zinore; but Serulah, one of the largest and wealthiest villages in the purgunna, belonged exclusively to that singular caste of people, particularly mentioned at Neriad, and occasionally in other parts of these Memoirs. The Bhauts gave me no trouble in collecting the Company's share of their revenue, and appeared in all respects a worthy, honourable tribe, highly deserving of the confidence placed in them by the princes of Guzerat, and the various inhabitants of their dominions. This caste were more or less his-

torians, heralds, prophets; and soothsayers. In the two last characters they, perhaps, a little interfere with the Brahmins and Hindoo devotees, abounding in Zinore and Chandode. I may have mentioned a sheet of paper, now in my possession, seventy-two feet in length, containing the calculations and predictions of the Dhuboy Brahmins and astrologers, on my destiny. I preserve it as a curiosity; but neither curiosity nor inclination have made me yet wish for a translation.

There are in modern India some Brahmins, who, like the magicians of Egypt and the astrologers of Chaldea, are supposed to "have within them the spirit of the holy gods, and light, and understanding, and wisdom, in shewing hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts:" Daniel, ch. xi. ver. 11, 12, 14; this is as certain as that such persons existed in Babylon when Daniel was consulted by the Chaldean and Persian monarchs. The men I now speak of are in no respect similar to the necromancers at Baroche, nor do they at all resemble the Jiggerkhars, or liver-eaters mentioned in the Ayeen-Akbery, whom I consider to be of the same kind as those persons among the Parsees at Baroche who called up demons or genii by some extraordinary agency. Abul Fazel, in the Ayeen-Akbery, says, "one of the wonders of this country is the Jiggerkhar, or liver-eater: one of this class can steal away the liver of another by looks and incantations; other accounts say, that by looking at a person he deprives him of his senses, and then steals from him something resembling the seed of a pomegranate, which he hides in the calf of his leg; after being swelled by the fire, he distributes it amongst

his fellows to be eaten ; which ceremony concludes the life of the fascinated person. A jiggerkhar is able to communicate his art to another by learning him the incantations, and by making him eat a bit of the livercake. Those jiggerkhars are mostly women ; it is said that they can bring intelligence from a great distance in a short space of time ; and if they are thrown into a river, with a stone tied to them, they nevertheless will not sink. In order to deprive any one of this wicked power, they brand his temples, and every joint in his body, cram his eyes with salt, suspend him for forty days in a subterraneous cavern, and repeat over him certain incantations."

In confirmation of such kind of people having at all times been known in Asia, Pietro della Valle mentions many extraordinary anecdotes ; I select one, because similar complaints were often occurring in my districts, unnecessary to detail at so remote a time and distance, but which occasioned much trouble and murmuring in the jurisprudence of the smaller purgunnas subordinate to Dhuboy, especially when they appealed to me for a decision by panchaut.

"This sort of witchcraft, which the Indians call eating the heart, is not a new thing, nor unheard of elsewhere ; many persons practised it formerly in Sclavonia ; and Pliny, upon the report of Isigones, testifies that this species of enchantment was known among the Triballes, and many other people whom he mentions, as it is at present among the Arabians who inhabit the western side of the Persian Gulph, where this art is common. The way in which they do it is only by the eyes and mouth, keeping the eyes fixed steadily upon the person whose heart they design to

eat, and pronouncing certain diabolical words ; by virtue of which, and by the operation of the devil, the person, how hale and strong soever, falls immediately into an unknown and incurable disease, which consumes by little and little, and at last destroys him. This takes place faster or slower as the heart is eaten, as they say ; for these sorcerers can either eat the whole or a part only ; that is, can consume it entirely and at once, or bit by bit, as they please. The vulgar give it this name, because they believe that the devil, acting upon the imagination of the witch when she mutters her wicked words, represents to her the heart and entrails of the patient, taken as it were out of his body, and makes her devour them."

"The old woman who gave rise to these observations, at first made some difficulty to confess her guilt ; but seeing herself pressed with threats of death, and being led, in fact, to the public square, where I saw her with a sick young man whom she was accused of having brought into his deplorable state, she said, that though she had not been the cause of his complaint, perhaps she could cure it, if they would let her remain alone with him, in his house, without interruption : by which she tacitly confessed her witchcraft ; for it is held certain in those countries, that these wicked women can remove the malady which they have caused, if it be not come to the last extremity. Of many remedies which they use to restore health to the sufferers, there is one very extraordinary, which is, that the sorceress casts something out of her mouth like the grain of a pomegranate, which is believed to be a part of the heart that she had eaten. The patient picks it up immediately, as part of his own intestines,



and greedily swallows it. By this means, as if his heart was replaced in his body, he recovers his health by degrees. These things can be only in appearance, by the illusions of the devil; and if the afflicted actually recover their health, it is because the same devil ceases to torment them."

This anecdote so corresponds with the occurrences in the Zinore purgunna, and there seems so much probability in that part respecting the devil acting upon the imagination of the sorcerer, as to give him the idea of eating the heart of the devoted sufferer, as in some degree settles that point. The real illness, dreadful convulsions, and premature death of the wretched beings subject to such diabolical influence, I can only ascribe to the terrors of an affrighted hypochondriac, and the powerful effects of imagination, which are known to operate strongly upon weak minds in more enlightened countries than Guzerat. Be that as it may, the frequency of these spectacles in the districts under my care, was painful, disgusting, and, situated as I was, irremediable. There was no deceit in the afflicted persons brought on their beds into my presence, bedewed by parental tears, imploring a relief I could not give. I seldom saw them in an early stage of this cruel disorder; perhaps hope was encouraged, and other means used for their recovery, before they came before an English gentleman invested with authority to give redress. That certainly was the case at Baroche; consequently the wretched beings I generally saw, were, like the Parsee youth, conveyed to our garden-house at Baroche, emaciated, agonizing, foaming at the mouth, the tongue hanging out, and the eyes starting from their sockets.

Having discussed this subject in a former chapter, it is unnecessary to enlarge, although such things must be viewed in Europe with doubt and incredulity ; to a person in a public station in India, who wishes to act with clemency, moderation, and justice, they cause sensations not easy to describe, and create doubts difficult to resolve.

Another troublesome set of people in that part of Guzerat were the soothsayers and astrologers, who have very great influence over the minds of millions, who, more or less, believe in unlimited predestination. Although I do not liken them to Samuel and the early prophets in Sacred Writ (nor did they immediately resemble the augurs and diviners of Homer and Virgil), I often found them and their employers entertaining the same ideas, and following the same practice as is recorded of the seers in Palestine ; especially in the little story told of Saul and his servants, who being sent in quest of some strayed asses belonging to his father, had passed through the land of Shalisha and Salim, and found them not : he therefore purposed returning home without them, to relieve his father's anxiety for his own safety. Being bound then to Ramah, the residence of Samuel the prophet, the servant said unto Saul, " Behold now, there is in this city a man of God, and he is an honourable man ; all that he saith cometh surely to pass : now let us go thither, peradventure he can shew us our way that we should go. Then said Saul to his servant, but behold if we go, what shall we bring the man ? for the bread is spent in our vessels, and there is not a present to bring to the man of God ; what have we ? And the servant answered Saul again, and said, behold ! I have here at

hand the fourth part of a shekel of silver ; that will I give to the man of God to tell us our way."—1 Samuel, ch. ix. ver. 6—8.

Such is exactly the state of things at this day in the eastern districts of Guzerat : in every considerable town, and most of the large villages, resided one or more of these Hindoo soothsayers, who, contrary to justice and good policy, were consulted on all occasions. Saul, though wrong in his opinion of a prophet of the Most High, was perfectly right in his judgment respecting the generality of these seers. An application to a modern oriental diviner unaccompanied by a present, would be very little attended to. These persons abound in all parts of India ; but there are among the Brahmins a small number, who seem to differ from all the descriptions of people before mentioned ; they appear also perfectly distinct from the fortune-telling Brahmins and pretended astrologers, who, like the gypsey tribe in Europe, are well known in India. Those I now speak of seem to be gifted with a talent possessed only by a very few of the quiet, retired, literary Brahmins. To one of these I shall now confine myself ; he was a man well known to many of my contemporaries in India, and I have occasionally met with him at Bombay, Surat, and Cambay, where I believe he chiefly resided.

I shall relate three anecdotes in confirmation of the penetrating spirit, preternatural gift, or whatever term may be allowed for the talent which this man possessed. As a Christian I must hesitate in giving credit to any thing so apparently contradictory to revealed religion ; as a member of the society in which they happened, and where they were generally be-

lieved, I know that the predictions were made long before the events happened, and were literally accomplished.

On my arrival at Bombay in 1766, Mr. Crommelin, the governor of that settlement, was under orders to relinquish his situation at the beginning of the following year, and then to return to England. Mr. Spencer, the second in council, was appointed his successor in the Bombay government, instead of Mr. Hodges, Chief of Surat, who considered it as his right. Mr. Hodges became acquainted with this Brahmin during his minority in the Company's service.

This extraordinary character was then a young man, little known to the English, but of great celebrity among the Hindoos, and every other description of natives, in the western part of the Peninsula. The Brahmin expressed an affectionate regard towards him, and, as far as the distinction of religion and caste allowed, the friendship became mutual and disinterested. The Brahmin was always justly considered as a very moral and pious character; and Mr. Hodges was equally well disposed: his Hindoo friend encouraged him to proceed in that virtuous path which would lead him to wealth and honour in this world, and finally conduct him to eternal happiness. To enforce these precepts, he assured him he would gradually rise from the station he then held at Cambay, to other residences and inferior chiefships in the Company's service; that he would then succeed to the higher appointment of chief at Tellicherry and Surat, and would close his Indian career by being governor of Bombay. Mr. Hodges not having been enjoined secrecy, spoke of these Brahminical predic-

tions among his associates and friends, from their very first communication ; and their author was generally called Mr. Hodges's Brahmin. These predictions for some years made but little impression on his mind. Afterwards, as he successively ascended the gradations in the Company's service, he placed more confidence in his Brahmin, especially when he approached near the pinnacle of ambition, and found himself chief of Surat, the next situation in wealth and honour to the government of Bombay.

When, therefore, Mr. Spencer was appointed governor of that settlement, and Mr. Hodges dismissed from the chiefship of Surat, and suspended the service, he sent for his Brahmin, who was then at Pulparra, a sacred village on the banks of the Tappee, of which I have already spoken, on a religious visit. Mr. Hodges received him at the chief's garden-house, where he was sitting in the front veranda. He immediately communicated to him the events which had lately taken place, to the disappointment of all his hopes and future expectations ; and slightly reproached him for a pretended prescience, and for having deceived him by false promises. The Brahmin, with an unaltered countenance, as is usual with his tribe on all such occasions, coolly replied, " You see this veranda, and the apartment to which it leads ; Mr. Spencer has reached the portico, but he will not enter the palace. He has set his foot upon the threshold, but he shall not enter into the house ? Notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary, you will attain the honours I foretold, and fill the high station to which he has been appointed. A dark cloud is before him !"

This singular prophecy was publicly known at

Surat and Bombay; and the truth or falsehood of the Brahmin was the subject of discussion in every company, when an express arrived overland from England, to annul Mr. Spencer's appointment, and to invest Mr. Hodges with the government of Bombay. All which accordingly took place. Mr. Spencer embarked for England in the same ship in which I arrived in India in December: and Mr. Crommelin sailed in January, leaving Mr. Hodges in complete possession of the government.

Such was the fact: on causes and effects I cannot argue; on preternatural gifts I cannot enter. I must leave these discussions to those who can account for the conduct of the witch of Endor, the genius of Socrates, the spirit which appeared to Eliphaz, or the apparition to Brutus. It is almost needless to remark the ascendancy of this Brahmin over the mind of Mr. Hodges during the remainder of his life; nor is it to be wondered at, that the new governor undertook no important step without consulting his Brahmin.

The second anecdote relates to the same Brahmin, and was as well known to the inhabitants of Bombay as the former. I have suppressed all family occurrences in these volumes, and generally curtailed every thing immediately respecting myself. I might otherwise have mentioned that I landed at Bombay in my seventeenth year, unknown, friendless, and forsaken, except by the worthy character who commanded the ship which carried me to India. His kindness during the voyage was unremitted, and for a period of forty-six years I have enjoyed his friendship. On leaving England I might, like most other youths who enter the Company's service, have had letters of recommendation from the directors, for the chairman and de-

puty were my father's friends, and offered an appointment either at Bengal, Madras, or Bombay. A relation, who was then going out as chief supercargo to Mocha, fixed it for the latter, that I might sail in the same ship with himself, and proceed entirely under his care without other patronage. He promised to be my guardian and protector, and introduce me properly at Bombay. He lost his health and spirits during the voyage, and on reaching our destined port was no longer the same character we had known in England. From his forgetfulness and inattention, I remained on board until the day after the captain and every other passenger had left the ship, to enjoy the pleasures of land, after a voyage of eleven months. While the officers and men were busily employed in unloading the cargo, I found myself a solitary, deserted being, without a letter to offer, or the knowledge of a single individual on the island.

Having occasionally heard my guardian mention the name of a gentleman with whom he intended to reside until the ship sailed from Bombay to Mocha, on landing I inquired for his house, and was told that a noble colonnade overlooking the sea, under which I then stood, formed a part of his mansion. With an anxious heart and trembling steps I ventured up a broad flight of stairs leading to this colonnade, from whence I saw the family sitting at their dessert in a large saloon to which it opened. My guardian gave me a reprimand for the intrusion, but introduced me as a young gentleman, with the appointment of a writer, who had left England under his protection, and for whom he meant to have sent from the ship when he had provided a lodging. His friend

pitied my situation, and felt for the cool reception of a bashful youth from one who had promised to extend over him the wings of parental love. If the reception of one was cool, that of the other was truly warm : he *then* took me by the hand, and for forty years never let it go ; he immediately introduced me to his wife and family, encouraged me by the kindest attention, supplied me with money, and told me to consider his house as my own. So I ever found it in India, and for twenty years after my return to England, where I trod the walk of private life ; while my friend, with an ample fortune, and abilities equal to his station, filled a seat in parliament, became a director and chairman of the East India Company, and purchased one of the finest estates in Hertfordshire, where he lived many years a blessing to all around. To him I was entirely indebted for my appointment to Baroche, and consequently for the independence I now enjoy. From the first hour I saw him until the day of his death, at the venerable age of fourscore, he was indeed my friend ! A heart overflowing with a grateful recollection of departed worth, has caused a little deviation from the story of the Brahmin, to which I now return.

The lady sitting at the head of my friend's table when I made my bashful entry, was a widow at the time he married her. Her first husband died when she was very young, leaving two children, a son and daughter. The latter remained with her mother, the former was sent to England for education, and at the age of sixteen embarked for Bombay with the appointment of a writer, some years prior to my arrival there. The ships of that season all reached the island



in safety, except the one in which this young gentleman sailed, which at length was deemed a missing ship, and her safety despaired of. A mother could not so easily give up hope; her usual evening walk was on a sandy beach, forming a bay on the western side of the island, in full view of the ocean. Maternal solicitude frequently cast a longing eye to that quarter where the ships from Europe generally appeared. The shore of that bay was also the place where most of the Hindoos erected the funeral pile and burnt their dead. This ceremony is attended by Brahmins, and Mr. Hodges's Brahmin, then at Bombay, was occasionally among them. Observing the mother's anxiety, he asked her the cause; the lady being a native of India, and well knowing his character, inquired in his own language why a man so extraordinarily gifted should be ignorant of her tender solicitude. The Brahmin was affected, and said, "I do know the reason of your sorrow. Your son lives; the ship will soon arrive in safety, but you will never more behold him!" She immediately mentioned this conversation to her friends. A signal was made not long after for a ship from Europe: on the pilot reaching her his private signal indicated the missing ship; boats were sent off to bring the passengers on shore. The expected son was not forgotten; his mother's friends went on board, and were informed that he had remained at the Brazils, where the ship having been long detained for repair; the Jesuits converted this promising youth to the Church of Rome. Instead therefore of conducting him to his expecting parent, they only delivered her letters replete with affectionate expostulations, and entreaties that she would follow his ex-

ample and enter into the true Church. A mother's disappointment is easier to conceive than describe. Her son continued at Rio de Janeiro, and occasionally wrote to her, until the suppression of the Jesuits in the pontificate of Clement XIV., on which occasion, with many other members of that society, he was sent from South America to the prisons of Portugal, and no more heard of.

The unfortunate mother returned to England some years afterwards, with her husband, and only daughter, who was married, and died soon after her arrival in her native country. This was a stroke her fond mother was little able to sustain ; a bereavement which seemed to admit of no consolation. The downy wings of time, the balmy comforts of religion, aided by every effort of an affectionate husband, were of no avail in extricating her from a state of apathy and despair.

Not long after this event, an intimate friend of the family, having remitted a considerable sum of money from India by bills on Portugal, went to Lisbon to recover them. Walking near a prison in that city, he was supplicated for charity by a voice from a subterraneous grate ; and being addressed in English made it the more impressive. Not content with affording transient relief, he entered into conversation with the prisoner, and found he was the long-lost son of his disconsolate mother. The intelligence was immediately conveyed to England, and tenderly communicated to his sorrowing parent, with the addition that her husband had already remitted money to Lisbon, and exerted such means for his deliverance that there could be no doubt of his speedy restoration to her maternal arms. This extraordinary news did shed a

momentary gleam of joy on her countenance, but it was soon succeeded by renewed pangs of sorrow, and a continued exclamation of "O, the Brahmin! the Brahmin!" Resignation and indifference seemed to have taken possession of her mind, and every prospect set before her of future joy and comfort only produced a monotonous repetition of "The Brahmin! the Brahmin!"

The friend at Lisbon, when all was happily accomplished, lost no time in informing her son that his mother lived, was married to a gentleman of fortune and respectability, who was waiting to welcome him to their parental roof;—that their interest and liberality had procured his liberty, which he was the happy instrument of effecting, and was then come to conduct him from a scene of misery to life, and light, and joy! Although the communication was made in the most considerate manner, he scarcely believed the reality of his emancipation from those dreary walls where he had for years been excluded from the light of the sun and fresh air; for "hope deferred had made his heart sick." The sudden transition from hopeless despair in the dungeon's gloom to the sight of the sun, the fanning of the breeze, and the sympathy of friendship, were too much for his emaciated frame. He faintly uttered the effusions of a grateful heart, and expired!

Thus was the Brahmin's prediction to his mother, uttered full thirty years before, completely fulfilled!

The last anecdote which I shall relate respecting this extraordinary man is very short. Some months previous to my first leaving India, a gentleman and his wife arrived from England at Bombay. He having

been appointed to a lucrative situation at Surat, proceeded thither by an early opportunity, leaving his wife in a friend's family until he should have procured a house, and made suitable provision for her reception at Surat. They were both young, and had an only child. In a few weeks she followed him to Surat. The evening before she embarked, sitting in a mixed circle of gentlemen and ladies, anticipating her approaching happiness, the same Brahmin came into the veranda with the gentleman of the house, who was high in station at Bombay. He introduced him to the company, and in a sort of jest asked him to tell the destiny of the happy fair one lately arrived from Europe. To the surprise of the whole company, and particularly so to the object of inquiry, he gave her a penetrating and compassionate look ; and, after a solemn pause, said to the gentlemen in the Hindoo language, "Her cup of felicity is full, but evanescent ! a bitter potion awaits her ; for which she must prepare !" Her husband had written that he should come in a barge to Surat bar to accompany her on shore. He did not appear ; but a friend of mine went on board to announce to her his dangerous illness : he was then in the last paroxysm of a fever, and expired in her arms ! I came home a passenger in the same ship with the widow and another lady, who endeavoured to alleviate her sorrow by every tender assiduity. The name of a Brahmin was never mentioned at table, nor any thing relating to Hindoo astrology. The anniversary of her husband's death happened during the voyage, and was indeed a day of woe !

## CHAPTER V.

District of Chandode—Jaggernaut—Funeral Ceremony of the Hindoos—Four Grand Divisions of Hindoo Castes—Temple and Village Worship—Sealing of the Worshippers—Brahminical Belief in the Unity of God—Beautiful Letter from a Hindoo Rajah to Aurungzebe—Doctrine of the Metempsychosis—Character of a real Yogee—Pure Brahminism—Truth and Beauty of Divine Revelation—Effects of Modern Philosophy among the Europeans in India—Cause and Effects of Irreligion.

ADJOINING the Zinore purgunna, and equally under my jurisdiction, was a little district called *Chandode*, to which the Brahmins attributed peculiar sanctity; the town, situated on the lofty banks of the Nerbudda, was intersected by ravines and watercourses, formed by heavy rains and encroachments of the river: as these inundations subsided, they left deep hollow ways, and steep precipices overhung by trees entangled with underwood and jungle-grass, affording an impenetrable cover for tigers, hyenas, serpents, and noxious reptiles.

Immense groves of the *ficus religiosa* and *indica*, overshadowing numerous Hindoo temples, and spacious lakes, cast a more than common gloom on this venerated spot.

No place in the western provinces of Hindostan is reputed so holy as Chandode; none at least exceed it: its temples and seminaries almost vie with the fanes of

Jaggernaut and colleges of Benares. Two thirds of the inhabitants are Brahmins and devotees of various descriptions : Hindoos of every caste from all parts of Guzerat, and pilgrims from a greater distance, there resort, at stated festivals, to bathe in the Nerbudda, and perform their religious ceremonies on its sacred banks, and there the Brahmins seem to be almost idolized. My duty led me thither on occasional visits to collect the Company's share of the revenue in their holy districts. I lived near four years within a few miles of the solemn groves where those voluptuous devotees pass their lives with the ramjannees, or dancing-girls attached to the temples, in a sort of luxurious superstition and sanctified indolence, unknown in colder climates.

The dewals, or temples, at Chandode daily undergo a variety of lustral ceremonies: not only do the priests and worshippers of the various deities in the Hindoo mythology, perform these frequent ablutions, but the lingam, the images, and the altars are washed and bathed with water, oil, and milk. We read in the Ayeen Akbery, "that the Brahmins wash the images of Jaggernaut six times every day, and dress them each time in fresh clothes. As soon as they are dressed, fifty-six Brahmins attend them, and present them with various kinds of food. The quantity of victuals offered to these idols is so very great as to feed twenty thousand persons. They also, at certain times, carry the image in procession upon a carriage of sixteen wheels; and they believe that whoever assists in drawing it along, obtains remission of all his sins."

Such was the account of Abul Fazel, the Mahomedan

vizier of Akber, two hundred years ago. He has there omitted one material circumstance in the procession of Jaggernaut; that of the voluntary human sacrifices to this lascivious god! This can now be too well supplied from a late publication by Dr. Claudius Buchanan, who was an eyewitness of the horrid scene he describes; which I shall curtail as much as possible.

“I have seen Jaggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death; it may be truly compared with the valley of Hinnom. The idol called Jaggernaut, has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Jaggernaut, namely Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister; for there are three deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height.

“The temple is a stupendous fabric, truly commensurate with the extensive sway of the horrid king. As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Jaggernaut has numerous and various representations of that vice which constitutes the essence of his worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems, in massive and durable sculpture. I have visited the said plains by the sea, in some places whitened by the bones of the pilgrims; where dogs and vultures are ever seen, who sometimes begin their attack before the pilgrim is quite dead. In this place of skulls I beheld a poor

woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her, looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children: I asked them where was their home; they said "they had no home but where their mother was." I have likewise witnessed a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amid the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised by the multitude, such as I had never heard before. It continued equally for a few minutes, and then gradually died away. After a short interval of silence, a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned to the place, and behold a grove advancing: a body of men, having green branches, or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them; and when they had come up to the throne, they fell down before him that sat thereon and worshipped.

"The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car, about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol, surrounding his throne. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody colour; his arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow colour. Five elephants pre-



ceded the three towers, bearing lofty flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging thereto, which sounded musically as they moved.

“ I went on in the procession, close by the tower of Moloch ; which, as it was drawn with difficulty, grated on its many wheels harsh as thunder : after a few minutes it stopped ; and now the worship of the god began. A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas in the ears of the people ; who responded, at intervals, in the same strain. “ These songs,” said he, “ are the delight of the god ; his car can only move when he is pleased with the song.” The car moved on a little way, and then stopped ; a boy of about twelve years old was now brought forth, to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The child perfected the praise of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture, that the god was pleased, and the multitude emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along. After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition.

“ After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face with his arms stretched forward. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear : and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god ; he is said to smile when the libation of blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body

of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and was then carried by the *hurries* to the Golgotha. After this scene a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheels did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case; but she died in a few hours. This morning as I passed the 'place of skulls' nothing remained of her but her bones.

"As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time, no accurate calculation can be made: the natives themselves, when speaking of the number at particular festivals, usually say that a lac of people, (one hundred thousand) would not be missed. I asked a Brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed: "How can I tell," said he, "how many grains there are in a handful of sand?"

These horrid superstitious rites are not practised in Guzerat; but self-immolation by widows too often pollute the flowery banks of the Nerbudda, and female infanticide, to a great extent, was then encouraged among whole tribes in the province. These are now happily prevented by the interference of the British government. Under the groves of Chandode are many funeral monuments in memory of those pilgrims who died on their journey to these sacred shrines, and whose ashes were brought to this sanctified spot, and cast into the river: because it forms an essential part of the Hindoo system that each element shall have a portion of the human body at its dissolution. After having expired upon the earth, the body is carried to the water-side, and washed with many ceremonies. It

is then laid upon the funeral pile, that the fire may have a share of the victim: the ashes are finally scattered in the air, and fall upon the water.

During the funeral ceremony, which is solemn and affecting, the Brahmins address the respective elements in words to the following purport, although there may be a different mode of performing these religious rites in other parts of Hindostan :

“O earth! to thee we commend our brother; of thee he was formed; by thee he was sustained; and unto thee he now returns!

“O fire! thou hadst a claim in our brother; during his life he subsisted by thy influence in nature; to thee we commit his body: thou emblem of purity, may his spirit be purified on entering a new state of existence!

“O air! while the breath of life continued, our brother respired by thee: his last breath is now departed; to thee we yield him!

“O water! thou didst contribute to the life of our brother; thou wert one of his sustaining elements. His remains are now dispersed: receive thy share of him, who has now taken an everlasting flight!”

Eastern and western philosophers seem to coincide in sentiment respecting the disposition of the human frame at its dissolution: at least the author of the *Night Thoughts* has thus beautifully expressed himself on a similar subject.

“The moist of human frame the sun exhales;  
Winds scatter, through the mighty void, the dry;  
Earth repossesses part of what she gave;  
And the freed spirit mounts on wings of fire:  
Each element partakes our scattered spoils;  
As nature, wide, our ruins spread!—Man's death  
Inhabits all things but the thought of Man!”      YOUNG.

In the Brahminical benediction at the commencement of Sacontala, the Hindoo system of philosophy is still more enlarged, and contains a beautiful part of their mythology. "Water was the first work of the Creator, and fire receives the oblations ordained by law; the sacrifice is performed with solemnity: the two lights of heaven distinguish time; the subtle ether, which is the vehicle of sound, pervades the universe; the earth is the natural parent of all increase; and by air all things breathing are animated; may Isa, the god of nature, apparent in these eight forms, bless and sustain you!"

I had constant opportunities of seeing the religious ceremonies at the Hindoo temples in Dhuboy and Chandode. The Brahminical worship is generally divided into the *Narganey Pooja*, and *Sarganey Pooja*; or the worship of the great invisible God, and the worship of idols. The latter always appeared to me to be the objects of devotion both of the priests and people. Exclusive of the temple of public worship, in most of the Guzerat villages is a sacred burr, or pipal-tree; under which, as I have before observed, is the figure of a cow, the lingam, one or two of the deities, or a vase containing a plant of the tulsee, or sweet basil, growing on the top of the altar, as well as a plain stone, or a block of black or white marble, on which flowery sacrifices are daily offered by the villagers, either with or without the presence of a Brahmin. Sometimes they are joined in their religious rites by a Yogee, who lives under the tree on the skin of a tiger or leopard, which they are very fond of: if that is beyond their reach, they content themselves with a mat, and frequently a terrace of cow dung, where the

worshipper remains motionless for many hours together, in a stupid kind of absorption. With the other sacrifices the Hindoos often mingle a small quantity of oil of sandal, mogrees, and odoriferous plants ; more common unguents are rubbed on the stone. The custom of anointing stones with oil, and converting them into altars, is very ancient. When Jacob had been favoured with the heavenly vision on his journey to Mesopotamia, he took the stone on which he had slept, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon it ; as is practised at this day on many a shapeless stone throughout Hindostan.

Although the object of their worship is erroneous, and painful to the feelings of more enlightened minds, it is pleasing to see the Hindoos every morning perform their ablutions in the sacred lakes, and offer an innocent sacrifice under the solemn grove. After having gone through their religious ceremonies, they are sealed by the officiating Brahmin with the tiluk, or mark, either of Vishnoo or Seeva.

The principal temple at Chandode is finished in a superior style of taste and elegance to any in that part of India : the central spire is light and in good proportion ; the interior of the dome is forty feet diameter ; the concave painted by artists from Ahmedabad, on subjects in the Hindoo mythology. They are done in distemper, which is very durable in that climate : but the drawing is bad, and the style altogether hard, incorrect, and deficient in the effect of light and shade : a light and dark shade seem indeed to be all they are acquainted with : the modern artists have no idea of middle tints, or the harmony of colouring. The outline, though greatly inferior in proportion and line of

beauty, bears some resemblance to the ancient Greek and Etruscan vases. The temples of Chandode abound with exterior sculpture, not so well executed as that of the Gate of Diamonds at Dhuboy, and the figures at Salsette and Elephanta; nor can they be named with the graceful statues of ancient Greece.

During the latter years of my residence in India, I had so little intercourse with my own countrymen, and my lot was so completely cast among the Brahmins of Guzerat, that I naturally became interested in all their concerns as far as circumstances admitted. At that time very few publications had appeared in Europe respecting the Hindoos; nor were the English then settled in India likely, from their pursuits, to obtain much knowledge of their religion, morality, and manners. In the circumscribed island of Bombay, where society was confined to the European circles, little information of that kind was to be expected; the same cause operated at the principal subordinate settlements; but at Dhuboy I was in a peculiar situation of seclusion and solitude; and, willing to profit by the opportunity, I endeavoured to acquire all the particulars I could respecting these extraordinary people. The observations I made enable me to confirm what I have since met with in the writings of Sir William Jones, and other celebrated orientalists. But the code of laws translated from the Sanscreet of Menu, affords the best and most authentic system of Hindoo policy and manners. Although their chronology and history extend far beyond our computation of time, we must allow this book to be one of the most ancient records any where extant. The preliminary discourse affixed to it, composed by modern Pundits and Brahmins, is a

liberal and manly essay ; and although the Hindoo literati of the present day are very inferior to their ancestors in science and wisdom, many of them are taught the language in which those valuable treatises were written, and have the same fountain to apply to for information. In this preliminary discourse several eminent Brahmins, with great elevation of mind, and liberality of sentiment, thus address themselves :

“ From men of enlightened understandings and sound judgment, who, in their researches after truth, have swept from their hearts the dust of malice and opposition, it is not concealed that the contrarieties of religion, and diversities of belief, which are causes of envy and of enmity to the ignorant, are in fact a manifest demonstration of the power of the Supreme Being. For it is evident that a painter, by sketching a multiplicity of figures, and by arranging a variety of colours, procures a reputation among men ; and a gardener, for planting a diversity of shrubs, and for producing a number of different flowers, gains credit and commendation ; wherefore it is absurdity and ignorance to view, in an inferior light, Him who created both the painter and the gardener. The truly intelligent well know that the differences and varieties of created things are a ray of his glorious essence ; and that the contrarieties of constitutions are a type of his wonderful attributes, whose complete power formed all creatures of the animal, vegetable, and material world, from the four elements of fire, water, air, and earth, to be an ornament to the magazine of the creation ; and whose comprehensive benevolence selected man, the centre of knowledge, to have dominion and authority over the rest : and, having bestowed upon this favourite

object, judgment and understanding, gave him supremacy over the corners of the world ; and, when he had put into his hand the free control and arbitrary disposal of all affairs, he appropriated to each tribe its own faith, and to every sect its own religion ; and having introduced a numerous variety of castes, and a multiplicity of different customs, he views in each particular place the mode of worship respectively appointed to it."

I am convinced, that the most enlightened Brahmins believe in the unity of God, although they think it necessary to represent his different attributes under symbolical forms, for the comprehension of the vulgar. They have also permitted the representation of celestial beings for a similar purpose ; in the same manner as the stoics and other philosophers, who unwilling to disturb the popular religion of their country, yet knowing how truth was obscured by fable and allegory, ventured to establish tenets which enlarged the ideas, and ennobled the minds of their followers : and went as far in their system as human nature can attain, unenlightened by the Sun of Righteousness. Many of their writings clearly indicate the sublimity of their conceptions. Strabo, probably, gives the general opinion of those ancient sages, when he asserts that " the thunder of Jupiter, the ægis of Minerva, the trident of Neptune, the torches and snakes of the Furies, together with the whole heathen theology, are all fable ; which the legislators who formed the political constitution of states, employ as bugbears to overawe the credulous and simple."

Among my Hindoo visitors at Dhuboy, I have frequently heard liberal and intelligent men express



themselves almost in the words of Jesswant Sihng, the Hindoo rajah, who wrote the following letter to the emperor Aurungzebe, a prince of a most fanatical and persecuting spirit : it is deservedly preserved by Orme in his valuable History :

“ Your royal ancestor, Akber, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security, for the space of fifty years ; preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were followers of Jesus or of Moses, of David or of Mahomed ; were they Brahmins of the sect of Dharians, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favour : insomuch that his people, in gratitude for the indiscriminate protection which he afforded them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggut-Grow, Guardian of Mankind. If your majesty places any faith in those books, by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind ; not the God of Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are equally in his presence ; distinctions of colour are of his ordination : it is He who gives existence. In your temple, to his name, the voice is raised in prayer ; in a house of images, where the bell is shaken, still He is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion and customs of other men, is to set at nought the pleasure of the Almighty. When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resentment of the painter ; and justly has the poet said, “ presume not to arraign or to scrutinize the various works of power divine.”

It is well known the Hindoos admit of no proselytes to their religion : a man must be born a Hindoo, he cannot become one. The preceding letter confirms

the liberality of their sentiments towards all other religious systems. It also establishes the fact, that the enlightened Brahmins firmly believe in the unity of the Godhead; while at the same time, as just observed, polytheism, on as extended a scale as ever entered into the Grecian mythology, is the creed of the vulgar; all unite in the belief of the metempsychosis, but the ideas of the generality on this subject are vague, unsatisfactory, and uninfluencing. Frequently, when arguing with the Brahmins on this favourite tenet, I have stated, even on a supposition of its truth, that it could have little influence on a set of beings who retained no consciousness of a pre-existent state, whether virtuous or vicious: they generally declined the subject, by saying such knowledge was imparted to a few highly-favoured Brahmins, and twice-born men; but the doctrine of the metempsychosis was to be received by all the various tribes of Hindoos as an article of faith.

The doctrine of the metempsychosis is not only of very remote antiquity, but was widely spread among the most civilized nations. Pythagoras, who travelled into Egypt, Chaldea, and India, on his return to Greece confirmed those tenets which had been previously introduced there by his master Pherecides. And it appears that not only the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as set forth in the brahminical code, were publicly taught by Pythagoras, but also several of the other moral and religious tenets of the Hindoos. Craufurd says, many of the latter believe that some souls are sent back to the spot where their bodies were burnt, there to wait until the new

bodies they are destined to occupy be ready for their reception. This appears to correspond with an opinion of Plato ; which, with many other tenets of that philosopher, was adopted by the early Christians. The Institutes of Menu, enlarging on this subject, assert that the vital souls of those men who have committed sins in the body, shall certainly, after death, assume another body, composed of nerves, with five sensations, in order to be more susceptible of torment ; and being intimately united with those minute nervous particles, according to their distribution, they shall feel, in that new body, the pangs inflicted in each by the sentence of Yama.

It was a prevailing idea with the Grecian and Roman philosophers, and, as is often mentioned in these Memoirs, it is equally so among the enlightened Brahmins, that the spirit of man originally emanates from the GREAT SOUL OF BEING, the Divine Spirit : and when, by the inevitable stroke of death, it quits its tenement of clay, it is again absorbed into the immensity of the Deity. This, they taught, was to be the final state of the virtuous, while the souls of the wicked were doomed to punishments proportionate to their crimes. Such were the purest doctrines of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle ; both these and their moral system deserve our admiration, but how far short do they fall from the faith of the ancient patriarchs in the Great Jehovah, long before the law was given to Moses, or grace and truth came by Jesus Christ ? Whether God vouchsafed his revelation immediately from himself, as he sometimes did to Abraham ; or by the administration of angels, as to Lot ; or in a dream, as by Jacob's

symbolical ladder ; those highly-favoured men had none of those doubts which perplexed the philosophers of Greece and Rome. They could not, with metaphysical subtilty, argue in the Stoa or dispute in the Lyceum, yet these unlettered shepherds of Mesopotamia went far beyond them, in that natural philosophy which makes proselytes by the strength of its own arguments.

What do the doctrines of the ancient philosophers, or the reveries of modern Brahmins, senascees, and yogees, offer in the comparison ? These devotees are composed from any of the other sects of the Hindoos, except the caste of Chandala ; they leave their family, break every tender connexion of life, and wander over the face of the earth, in the exercise of their religious duties. Their rules are very strict, and some of their voluntary penances of the severest kind ; but to what do they tend ? In Cranford's Sketches is an extract from the Sanscrit writings, in which it is said, " that a senascece or yogee, who shall devote himself to a solitary religious life, shall wear no other clothing but what may be necessary to cover his nakedness ; nor have any other worldly goods but a staff in his hand, and a pitcher to drink out of. That he shall always meditate on the truths contained in the sacred writings, but never argue upon them. That his food shall be confined to rice and vegetables ; that he shall eat but once a day, and then sparingly. That he shall look forward with desire to the separation of the soul from the body ; be indifferent about heat or cold, or hunger, or praise, or reproach, or any thing concerning this life ; and that unless he strictly follow these rules, and subdue his passions, he will only be more criminal by

embracing a state the duties of which he could not perform, and neglecting those he was born to observe."

Sir William Jones, and other oriental writers on the Hindoo mythology, agree with the narrations of Bernier, Chardin, La Croze, and many celebrated travellers in former days, as to the Brahminical faith in the purity and sublimity of One Supreme Being, under the name of Brahina, or the Great One; "that he is the spirit of wisdom, the univereal soul that penetrates every thing; that God is as upon a sea without bounds; that those who wish to approach him, must appease the agitation of the waves; that they must be of a tranquil and steady mind, retired within themselves, and their thoughts being collected, must be fixed on God only."

These are, I allow, as sublime ideas as can enter into the soul of man in his present state of existence; and that some of the Brahmins may attain to the enjoyment of such spiritual delight, far be it from me to contradict; but we certainly may assert, that this attainment is confined to a few, when compared with the millions that form the great mass of Hindoos; and so far are the Brahmins from wishing the inferior castes to acquire such knowledge, that they keep them as much as possible in a state of ignorance.

For, I repeat, who can understand the mysteries of Brahma, or enter into the abstracted reveries of his priests? Indeed, they have answered this question themselves, by saying, that as God is a being without shape, of "whom no precise idea can be formed, the adoration before idols, being ordained by their religion, God will receive, and consider that as adoration offered to himself."

Shall we then, with *modern sceptics and philosophers*, compare the religion of the Hindoos with that of the Gospel? with the blessed Catholicon, which, wafted on the wings of celestial love, is spread forth for the healing of nations, when immersed in folly, ignorance, and vice. For near two thousand years has this religion been spreading itself over the world: in due time its saving influence will, I have no doubt, extend to the nations of the east, and embrace them all in the arms of his mercy, “who brings his sons from far, and his daughters from the ends of the earth;” Isaiah, ch. xliii. ver. 6; whose religion is suited to all capacities, and adapted to all situations, whether high or low, rich or poor, learned or unlearned; none can be too high for his exalted promises, none too low for his divine consolations. It has no invidious distinctions for the elated Brahmin; no desponding degradation for the outcast Chandala!—for it teaches that God is no respecter of persons, but that all the faithful disciples of a crucified Redeemer, shall be accepted through him.

Let us then hope, and by every gentle means endeavour to realize the hope, that at no very distant period the Hindoos may have a knowledge of those Scriptures where the God of truth and holiness is revealed in characters becoming his glorious attributes, especially in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, where mercy and justice meet together in the atonement made for a guilty world. Instead of being absorbed in their mystical reveries, may the Brahmins feel the influence of the Holy Spirit; in opposition to the endless labyrinth of the metempsychosis, may they be taught the re-

surrection of the body, its reunion with the soul, and the unchangeable state of the righteous and wicked, at the final day of retribution, in realms of bliss, among angels and purified spirits in the Paradise of God; or, in a state of alienation from his beatific presence, with evil doers, in the abodes of misery and woe! The east has been the scene of wonders from the earliest ages; the nursery of arts and science; true religion there first shed her glorious rays; and there, I trust, she will again become a "Light to lighten the Gentiles, and to be the glory of the people of Israel." Luke, chap. ii. ver. 32.

Let not this subject be placed upon a level with the *cui bono* of mundane speculations; they must come to an end: but here, the blessings of heaven and earth, the blessings of time and eternity, the justice and the mercy of God, all conspire to magnify its importance!

The preceding remarks, amplified since my return to England, were originally written under the Brahminical groves in Guzerat; so were most of the following observations, which, with mingled sensations, I have copied and enlarged from those manuscripts. By some the ensuing pages may be thought irrelevant to the general subject of these volumes; many, I trust, will be of a different opinion. I have been for a long while undetermined whether to introduce them in part, or entirely to suppress them. Diffidence suggested the latter: a hope of doing some good to the rising generation, and especially the wish to give a proper bias to the yet unprejudiced mind in India, prompts me to bring forward what was originally written among those very Brahmins who asked the

questions, connected with the observations of maturer experience, and a retrospective view of later occurrences in England.

Although the generality of the Brahmins at Dhuboy and Chandode were more zealous than any I conversed with in other parts of India, some of them were inquisitive about the worship of Christians; of which they had conceived a faint idea from Hindoo pilgrims, or from slight observations made at our settlements during their own travels. Similar inquiries have been put to me by intelligent Indians of other castes who understood our books, and conversed in English; men of different religious professions, Hindoos, Mahomedans, and Parsees; especially by Muncher Jevan, a Parsee merchant at Bombay, a character well known, and universally esteemed for integrity, urbanity, and good sense.

These people, in their own artless, expressive style, often asked me this important question, "Master, when an Englishman dies, does he think he shall go to his God?" My answer in the affirmative generally produced a reply to this effect: "Your countrymen, master, seem to take very little trouble about that business; they choose a smooth path, and scatter roses on every side. Other nations are guided by strict rules and solemn injunctions in those serious engagements, where the English seem thoughtless and unconcerned. The Hindoos constantly perform the ceremonies and sacrifices at the Dewal; the Mahomedans go through their stated prayers and ablutions at the Mosques; the Parsees suffer not the sacred fire to be extinguished, nor neglect to worship in the temple. You call yourselves Christians, so do the Roman Catholics, who



abound in India; they daily frequent their churches, fast and pray, and do many penances. The English alone appear unconcerned about an event of the greatest importance!"

On such a theme the candid mind cannot remain in a state of neutrality. The lukewarm church of Laodicea appears to have been the most offensive, and the most severely rebuked of all the Asiatic churches to whom the divine admonitions were sent. Those interested in the important concern of establishing Christianity in British India, must in the preceding paragraph behold a weighty obstacle to its success. What fruit can be expected from seed sown by the most prudent and zealous missionary, if the lives of professing Christians militate against the doctrinal truths and moral precepts of the Gospel? Those Hindoos who read, and in some degree enter into the spirit of the Bible, allow its beauty and purity, nor do they seem to doubt its authenticity. In that respect, the disciples of Brahma are liberal; but, as a quiet thoughtful people, they wonder that Christianity has so little influence on the practice: they wonder such sublime precepts, such affectionate invitations, such awful threatenings, should not have more effect on its professors. The incarnation of the Son of God is no rock of offence, no stumbling block to the Hindoo, who believes in the avatars of his own deities. But he finds it difficult to reconcile a Christian's faith with what he sees of his conduct, by the grand criterion pointed out by the Founder of that faith, to prove his disciples. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Matt. ch. vii. ver. 20.

The differing castes and tribes of Indians in the

English settlements, know that we have one day peculiarly set apart for public worship, as well as themselves: how do they see it observed? They know that our blessed Redeemer preached a Gospel of purity and self-denial, how do they see those virtues practised? They know that an incarnate God offered himself as a sacrifice for sin; the innocent for the guilty; that he died an ignominious death, to redeem unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works; instituted the eucharist in commemoration of his dying love, and before his awful sacrifice, said, "This do in remembrance of me." St. Luke, ch. xxii. ver. 19. The Indians perform the sacrifices enjoined them; they well know their typical and sacramental meaning: what judgment must they form of our obedience to this divine ordinance?

What may now be the prevailing practice, I cannot say; certainly the spirit of Christianity was not the actuating principle of European society in India. A thoughtlessness of futurity, a carelessness about religious concerns, were more prominent. Highly as I esteemed the philanthropy, benevolence, and moral character of my countrymen, I am sorry to add, that a spirit of scepticism and infidelity predominated in the younger part of the community; especially in the circle of those who had received what is called a good education; implying a knowledge of classical, mathematical, and metaphysical learning, as far as such knowledge can be acquired at sixteen years of age; the period when most of the writers were then appointed to India.

My mind is at this moment solemnly impressed with scenes long past in those remote regions; espe-

cially in conversation at the breakfast table of a gentleman, frequented by young men of the first character in the Company's civil service, of superior talents, amiable dispositions, and elegant accomplishments, and my own select friends, as such I loved and esteemed them; in another point of view I was happily permitted to adopt the decision of the venerable patriarch, "O, my soul! come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!" Gen. ch. xlix. ver. 6. The Volume of Truth was my study, and its divine lessons were pathetically enforced in the annual letters of my beloved parents, and the revered preceptor of my youth. He constantly corresponded with me during my absence, and lived more than twenty years after my last return, a bright example of piety and virtue; until, at the advanced age of ninety, he was removed from works to rewards. Such was the Reverend David Garrow of Hadley, a name beloved, a memory revered. In these conversations infidelity was the order of the day; the systems of Voltaire and Hume the principal topic of discourse; the philosophy of *Sans Souci*, the grand subject of admiration! The truths of Christianity were so entirely effaced by these doctrines, that for years together, many of those deluded youths never entered a place of worship, nor read the Bible, except for the purpose of misapplying texts, and selecting unconnected passages, so often and so ably refuted, by all that can be urged by the force of reasoning, or the extent of learning.

I have since had occasion to witness the effect of those fatal errors upon the living and dying conduct of many who then embraced that pernicious system of

infidelity. I know the misery it has caused, and still causes, to some of the former; and the remorse which occurred at the closing scene of one of the most learned, sensible, and best informed of those eastern philosophers. This gentleman had, long before his last illness, seen the fallacy of the creed he had adopted; the same interesting passage in the prophecies of Isaiah,\* which engaged the attention of the minister of the Ethiopian queen, and so happily effected the conversion of a dissipated English nobleman,† had, by the divine blessing, been equally instrumental to the conviction of my deluded friend. On his return to England, his brother, at that time one of our most eminent and zealous prelates, employed every means in his power to convince him of his error, and providentially succeeded.

What good may be done in India by prudent and zealous missionaries, Swartz, for fifty years the zealous missionary on the coast of Coromandel, and others have clearly evinced. What may still be done is pointed out in letters written at the beginning of the eighteenth century by George the First, king of England, and that eminent prelate Dr. Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Indian missionaries: they are epistles becoming a monarch of Great Britain, and of the first dignitary in the Protestant church. I reluctantly forbear inserting the letter of the former, and shall only make a short extract from the latter, to the missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Grundlerus, then propagating the Gospel in India.

“ It will be your praise, a praise of endless duration

\* Isaiah, ch. liii.

† Lord Rochester.

on earth, and followed by a just recompence in heaven, to have laboured in the vineyard which yourselves have planted; to have declared the name of Christ where it was not known before; and through much peril and difficulty, to have converted to the faith those, among whom ye afterwards fulfilled your ministry. Your province, therefore, brethren, your office, I place before all dignities in the church. Let others be pontiffs, patriarchs, or popes; let them glitter in purple, in scarlet, or in gold; let them seek the admiration of the wondering multitude, and receive obeisance on the bended knee: ye have acquired a better name than they, and a more sacred fame. And when that day shall arrive when the Chief Shepherd shall give to every man according to his work, a greater reward shall be adjudged to you. Admitted into the glorious society of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, ye with them shall shine, like the sun among the lesser stars, in the kingdom of your Father, for ever!

“God hath already given to you an illustrious pledge of his favour; an increase not to be expected without the aid of his grace. He will continue to prosper your endeavours, and will subdue unto himself, by your means, the whole continent of oriental India. O happy men! who, standing before the tribunal of Christ, shall exhibit so many nations converted to his faith by your preaching; happy men! to whom it shall be given to say before the assembly of the whole human race, ‘Behold us, O Lord! and the children whom thou hast given us;’ happy men! who being justified by the Saviour, shall receive in that day the reward of your labours; and also shall hear that glorious encomium, ‘Well done, good and

faithful servants, enter ye into the joy of your Lord.' Matt. ch. xxv. ver. 21."

Such is the path, such the reward of the Indian missionary. The clergy stationed in that remote part of the world may do much; and every individual can do something towards the glorious structure, the living temple; which is to continue not only for the short period of time, but will endure throughout those eternal ages when "time shall be no more!"

A Christian, who knows and feels his obligations to the Author of his being for creation, preservation, and redemption, will endeavour to act as becometh his high and holy vocation, from the motive of love. To him, a religious life, far from being a compulsive obligation, becomes his deliberate choice, a service of perfect freedom; an unlimited conformity to the manners and customs of a thoughtless age, would be a cruel bondage. His heart having received a different bias, the world ceases to allure; he aspires after heavenly-mindedness; he tastes the celestial manna; and enjoys a peace which the world can neither give nor take away. But his religion, far from rendering him gloomy or austere, prompts him to perform every relative and social duty with peculiar delight. On proper occasions he partakes of rational recreation, innocent amusement, and convivial pleasure. Thus he pursues his earthly career, in lively faith, cheerful hope, and active charity; looking through the valley of the shadow of death to that city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God!

In India, a climate favouring voluptuousness, with other local causes, aids the fascinating stream of fashionable inconsideration; which, united with many

smaller rills, flows in a full and rapid current through the higher classes of society in Europe; and powerfully carries all before it. Against such strong temptations, where shall we find an antidote equal to the vigilance required by Christianity, and the grace promised to those who seek it? The love of God is the first principle of that religion, and leads to the practice of all inferior duties; while a forgetfulness of this great and adorable Being is the source of an irreligious and worldly spirit. In prosperity we should be cautious how we enter that vortex of dissipation from whence it is difficult to extricate ourselves: so flowery is the path to the Circean palace, so delightful the fascinating cup of pleasure, that it requires a careful step and vigilant eye to escape the alluring charms; and where to draw the line is the great difficulty; but in this combat we shall soon find that strength consists in a consciousness of our own weakness, and that retreat is victory.

I will conclude in the words of a pious modern writer, who has happily condensed all I would further say on this momentous concern. "I do not presume to appreciate what *his* feelings, or *his* fears may be, who says in his heart that there is no God; nor yet of *his*, who pretends to acknowledge the being of a God, and wholly disbelieves a divine revelation of his will. If there be no God, there can be no future state. What then will be the value of life? If there be a God that hath made no revelation of his will, consequently hath afforded not one gleam of hope beyond the grave, what will be value of death? The expectation of annihilation will add no value to a life where all moral principle has been wanting. It will give no comfort

to a death, where every thought, every word, every action, every friend and every foe is buried in one eternal oblivion. Happy Christian ! sleep in peace ; thy Saviour is *thy* kind and compassionate friend, through all the stages of thy various life ; and if, by Divine grace, thou continuest faithful unto death, thou mayest look forward to his further help, when he shall open for thee the gate of an everlasting state of existence !" BREWSTER.



## CHAPTER VI.

Journey from Dhuboy to Ahmedabad—Ahmood Purgunna—Account of a dreadful Storm in Guzerat—Jambosher Purgunna—Coolies, a Tribe of Robbers—Cambay Purgunna—Festivals of the Hooli and Vastu Puja—Singular Ceremonies of Hindoo Worship—Cruel Oppressions by the Nabob of Cambay—Arrival at Cambay—Wild Beasts in Guzerat—Perilous Adventure of a Company of Sportsmen—Departure from Cambay—Sejutra—Guzerat Villages and Cultivation—Valuable Oxen in Guzerat—Horses—Ancient Splendour of Guzerat—Beautiful Mausoleums at Betwah—Affectionate Veneration for the Dead in Hindostan.

GENERAL GODDARD, in command of the army detached from Bengal in 1779 to the assistance of the Government at Bombay, having conquered Ahmedabad and several other places in the Guzerat province, I embraced the first opportunity in my power to visit that celebrated capital, formerly the pride of western Hindostan, and still vying with Agra and Delhi in magnificent remains of Mogul grandeur.

The latter harvests being finished, and the revenues collected in the Dhuboy districts, in the month of April 1781 I commenced my journey, proceeding first to Baroche, and from thence to Ahmood, a distance of twenty miles. In Guzerat, as in most other parts of India, the distance from one place to another is rec-

koned by the *coss*, which in that province seldom exceeds one mile and a half. Its length varies in different countries, although geographers generally estimate the *coss* in Hindostan at two English miles. The usual rate of travelling in a hackery, drawn by a pair of bullocks, or in a palanquin, with eight bearers to relieve each other, is from three to four miles an hour ; this they will keep up for five hours without inconvenience.

The *Boukie* and *Nyar* are the only rivers between Baroche and Ahmood : the former in the rainy months is a rapid stream, confined within a narrow bed ; the latter broad and gentle. So late in the season they were both nearly dry. The soil in the Ahmood pergunna is a rich, black mould, producing cotton, rice, wheat, and a variety of Indian grain. The Ahmood cotton is esteemed the best in these fertile provinces, and is sold at the highest price in the Bengal and China markets.

I passed the night at Ahmood, a small town which gives its name to the district ; it is built on the borders of a shady lake, and belonged half to the English and half to a Gracia rajah, between whom the revenues of the pergunna were also divided. The former possessed the citadel, a place of little strength, and a small garrison. A member of the council at Baroche occasionally resided there to collect the Company's share of the revenue, which annually amounted to a lac of rupees, or twelve thousand five hundred pounds.

The next morning I renewed my journey, and about three miles from Ahmood reached the Dahder, then a

small stream, but six years before, when Ragobah's army was encamped on its banks, and I passed a wretched night under the body of an elephant, a tremendous torrent.

The great rivers frequently swell some time before the rain falls in the low countries, from what immediate cause I know not. This sudden rise is easily accounted for in those rivers whose source among mountains, with snow-capped summits, receive additional streams from the power of the sun in the hottest season of the year. Although the Nerbudda and Tappec do not spring among such wintry regions, I have seen these rivers in an awful state, threatening destruction.

Two years before I left India, some weeks previous to the setting-in of the south-west monsoon, we had the most dreadful storm ever remembered in Guzerat ; its ravages by sea and land were terrible ; the damage at Baroche was very great, and the loss of lives considerable. It came on so suddenly, that a Hindoo wedding passing in procession through the streets by torch-light, with the usual pageantry of palanquins, led-horses, and a numerous train of attendants, was overtaken by the tempest, and fled for shelter into an old structure, which had for ages withstood the rage of the elements ; on that fatal night, from the violence of the winds and rain, both roof and foundation gave way, and seventy-two of the company were crushed to death.

At our villa every door and window was blown away, the elements rushed in at all directions, and spoiled furniture, pictures, books, and clothes. The roof of the stable giving way, the main beam killed a fine

Arabian horse, and maimed several others. The garden next morning presented a scene of desolation, strewed with large trees torn up by the roots, broken pillars, seats and ornaments, sea and land birds, wild and tame animals, porcupines, guanas, serpents, and reptiles, all crushed together. Large fish from the ocean, together with those of the river, were left upon the banks, and covered the adjacent fields. One of the Company's armed vessels lately arrived from Bombay was lost in the river, together with a great number of large cotton boats and other craft, richly laden.

The effects of this storm at Surat were still more dreadful; many ships foundered at the bar, or were driven on shore; the banks of the Tappee were covered with wrecks, which the violence of the wind and swelling floods carried to a great distance inland; the river flowed into the city, covered the surrounding country, and did incalculable damage. I will not give the melancholy detail, which at the time interested every feeling heart, though one circumstance must not be entirely passed over. The English being at war with the Mahrattas, large detachments of their cavalry were then in the vicinity of Surat, committing their usual depredations. About three thousand inhabitants, to avoid their cruelty, deserted the villages, and took refuge on an island in the Tappee, with their wives, children, cattle, furniture, looms, spinning wheels, and stock of grain for the rainy season. There they anticipated an asylum until the setting-in of the monsoon should drive the Mahrattas from the country, and allow them to return home.

They had, alas! a more formidable enemy to contend with; on that fatal night the river entirely overwhelmed the island, and carried off every individual!

My palanquin-bearers now found no difficulty in fording the stream of the Dahder; from whence I entered the Jamboseer purgunna; it presents a more pleasing landscape than Ahmood and Baroche, which generally consist of open cultivated plains, with trees only near the villages. Here the fields are enclosed, and the whole country enriched by plantations of mango, tamarind, and banian-trees. Forty or fifty full-grown mango-trees will cover a square acre of ground, forming a dark grove of beautiful foliage to shelter the traveller from meridian heat; and at the season I was there, affording a golden produce for his refreshment. The mangoes vary as much in size as flavour, weighing from two ounces to near a pound. Although the tamarind tree is exquisitely beautiful, and its fruit pleasant and wholesome, it is deemed by the natives extremely unhealthy to sleep or even to rest under its shade.

The soil of the Jamboseer purgunna is light and fertile, favourable to juarree, bajeree, and other grain. The western plains, of a rich black earth, produce abundant crops of wheat and cotton. This district had then been six years in the Company's possession, under the care of Mr. Callander, a gentleman whose attention to agriculture and the happiness of the peasants, rendered the villages flourishing, wealthy, and populous. The country had the appearance of a garden, and peace and plenty smiled around him.

The annual revenue usually amounted to five lacs of rupees.

The crops, similar to those in the Dhuboy districts, were in general very abundant; failure of rain sometimes causes a scarcity, but a real famine is seldom experienced in Guzerat: when it does happen the consequence is dreadful! Famine is generally succeeded by pestilence, and the *paradise of nations* becomes a desert! "All nature sickens, and each gale is death." During my residence in India I never witnessed these calamities in any alarming degree; since my return to England both sides of the peninsula have felt their dire effects. I remember the rains at Bombay being once withheld until long after the usual season. To avert the fatal consequences apprehended, the professors of the different religions on the island made solemn processions to their respective places of worship, to offer up prayers and supplications to the GREAT PARENT of the universe. In the Protestant and Romish churches the usual petitions were made for this blessing. The Hindoos were lavish in their ceremonies; the Mahomedans daily opened their mosques, and the Parsees fed the sacred fire with a double portion of holy oil and sandal-wood. At length the rain poured down copiously, and all fear vanished. The extent of these dreadful famines in India is not easily conceived in Europe.

Jamboscer, the capital of the purgunna, is only seven miles from Ahmood. The town is two miles in circumference, surrounded by a mud wall. The gurry was deemed a place of strength against the country powers, but these citadels soon fell before Euro-

pean artillery. Some of the Hindoo houses are large ; the exterior style of architecture has neither elegance nor proportion ; the interior generally consists of small dark low rooms, surrounding an open area, which sometimes contains a garden and fountain, with an altar of Tulsee, the sacred plant of the Brahmins. The stairs are always steep and narrow ; the roofs are often flat, but frequently covered with tiles. The inferior houses have either tiled roofs, or are thatched with jungle grass, or the leaves of the palmyra. Like most large towns in Guzerat, Jamboseer is situated near an extensive lake, the banks adorned with Hindoo temples and caravansaries, overshadowed by mango and banian trees, and the surface almost covered by the lovely flowers of the lotus in all its varied hues.

We left Jamboseer early on the 27th of April, and passed the sultry hours at Gudgerah, a large populous town surrounded by a wall, to protect it from the depredations of the Coolies, who are a very insolent set among the numerous, and probably indigenous tribes of freebooters and robbers in this part of Guzerat. The Indian robbers of all descriptions are uncommonly clever, and by long habit elude the greatest vigilance.

From Gudgerah we proceeded to Corelli, a pleasant village on the south banks of the Mahi, which gives its name to the celebrated pass over that river. We pitched our tents under a spreading banian-tree, and passed the night more pleasantly than we could have done in any house in the village, although in those districts the villages are generally large and to-

lerably convenient, with a bazar or market well supplied. Banian and mango groves, temples, choultries, wells, and tanks, add to their comfort and beauty.

Our travelling marquee had a fly or awning, which being a few feet above the roof of the tent, and spreading some distance around, kept it cool, and afforded a sort of veranda to shade our servants, in a deficiency of trees. To render it more effectually cool during the hot winds prevalent in April and May, instead of the usual purdahs, or hangings of cotton before the entrance, we placed *tatties*, or screens of matted grass, especially the fragrant cusa, when we could procure it. These being kept constantly watered, the passing air was cooled, and the interior of the tent rendered very comfortable.

I have already observed, we were obliged to travel with beds and every necessary comfort; our views never extended beyond that invaluable word; a word but little known out of an English vocabulary, although the luxury of an Asiatic encampment often equals that of the most refined cities. Our cooking was very simple; the fowl being frequently roasted on a wooden spit, supported by two branches from the nearest tree; boiled meat, vegetables, rice, and curry, were dressed in earthen pots supplied by the village, and placed over little fires made between sods, or in holes in the earth. In such rural encampments our provisions were in no danger of being taken by the natives, who would not have tasted the greatest dainties. It was not so easy to guard against the monkeys, who silyly purloined bread, fruit, and country beer, a liquor made with English porter, palm-wine,



and water, of which those animals are extremely fond. We had still a bolder and more ravenous enemy in the hawks and brahminee kites, constantly hovering near, ready to dart on a roasted fowl, or quarter of kid, while actually carrying by the servants from the temporary kitchen to the dining tent. There are vultures in Guzerat, but not so common as at Bombay, where the parsee sepulchres are their great attraction; but the dogs, with which all the Indian towns and villages abound, clear away every offal. They are numerous, noisy, and troublesome, especially to travellers. They are called pariar-dogs, have no respective owner, generally subsist upon charity, and are never destroyed. They frequently hunt in large packs like the jackals, which they resemble in many other respects.

We left our umbrageous dormitory near Corelli at an early hour the next morning, and immediately descended the banks of the Mahi at the pass of that name.

It occupied two hours to cross the bed of the Mahi. We reached the northern bank at the well-known pass of Dewan, a narrow defile between steep banks thirty feet high, through which only one cart can proceed at a time. On leaving this defile we were met in a friendly manner by *Jeejabhy*, a famous chieftain among the Coolies. The principal rajah of these refractory tribes resides at Ometah, the chief fortress of the Mahi Coolies, a few miles to the east of Dewan. These people maintaining in their fastnesses an armed independence, deem it no disgrace to be robbers and plunderers of all whom they can master, that venture to travel without their escort. This gives

them many advantages over their neighbours, and makes them respected by the surrounding governments, by whom small bodies of Coolies are frequently entertained as occasional escorts and safeguards. They were then on friendly terms with the English, but we thought it necessary to travel with an escort of five-and-twenty native cavalry, and a detachment of Arab and Scindian infantry, armed with matchlocks, to prevent either plunder or insults from the Coolies or Cotties, another tribe of freebooters inhabiting the country of Cottyawar, further to the north west. They are always well mounted and roam in troops, to lay travellers under contribution, rob villages, and drive off the cattle.

Robbery and plunder being the general pursuit of these people, I was surprised to see the Coolie districts under excellent cultivation; their villages large and populous, and the fields enclosed by hedges, planted with mango and tamarind trees. We travelled without molestation through this delightful country, but on entering the Cambay purgunna every thing wore a different aspect; the soil was equally rich, though by no means so well cultivated; nor were the villages half inhabited. The Nabob's government, pressed by the wants of Mogul ostentation, was too oppressive for the increase of population, or encouragement of agriculture.

Under a mild government, the Cambay purgunna, with the advantage of its bunder or port, is capable of being rendered equal to any in Hindostan. Its light and fertile soil yields a rich return of every thing committed to its bosom, and great quantities of coarse-

coloured cottons are manufactured in the city, and exported for the African markets.

A few miles from Cambay we passed over gentle hills, covered with groves, commanding a delightful view of the surrounding plain. I mention this circumstance, because in the whole Guzerat province there is seldom a rising ground to the west of Powagur, or the mountains which separate it from the interior parts of Hindostan. The rich prospects in this country delight the traveller, but afford little variety for description. The heavy roads retarded our arrival at Cambay; in that light sandy soil the rainy season is preferable for a journey; the sands then become solid, and the rains are not so violent as in the southern latitudes.

In the tract of country through which we had now travelled, we observed several neat modern temples at the Hindoo villages, similar to those in other parts of Guzerat, as also scattered remains of ancient and magnificent structures, both Hindoo and Mahomedan; handsome wells and extensive tanks lined with stone, indicated the former wealth of the country. The village temples as usual were near a grove or burr-tree, and where there was no temple the ryots were content to join their Brahmin in sacrifice and prayer under these verdant fanes. The Lingam seems to be a general object of worship among the villagers; the image of Ganeish, or Ganeasa, the god of wisdom, denoted by the elephant's head, the symbol of sagacity, is often placed against the trunk of the banian tree; as is also that of Bhavani, or Bowannee, the goddess of fecundity.

The juma-musjed, or grand mosque at Cambay, was, as I have formerly remarked, a Hindoo temple of great antiquity before it was dedicated by the Mahomedans to Alla. Shawuk pagoda, and many other Hindoo edifices, bear a very ancient date. The antiquity of the Hindoos involves such a variety of matter, and embraces so many objects, that it is a very difficult field to enter; and yet who could travel over the plains of Cambay without recollecting they had employed the pens of Arrian and Ptolemy many ages past? And, if not already proved, it will most probably soon be discovered, that there has been a very ancient communication between Hindostan and Great Britain. Should it be ascertained that the latter is one of the Sacred Isles of the West, in the Hindoo puranas, it is impossible to calculate the result of such researches.

The conclusion of Sir William Jones's third discourse delivered to the Asiatic Society in 1786, is in favour of this idea. "Of these cursory observations on the Hindoos, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians; the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuscans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chinese, Japanese, and Peruvians. Whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude they all proceeded from some central country, to investigate which will be my future object."

It has been observed by careful investigators, that

there is a great resemblance between many of the Hindoo festivals and the old feasts in England. Colonel Pearse remarks, that on the festival of Bhawanee, which answers to our May-day, the Gopas and all other herdsmen frequent the gardens on that day, erect a pile in the fields, and adorn it with pendants and garlands. Mr. Paterson, on the origin of the Hindoo religion, in describing the festival of the *Hooli*, compares it with the *Hilaria* of the Romans, celebrated at the vernal equinox in honour of the mother of the gods. "It was a festival which was continued for several days with great display of pomp and rejoicing. It began the eighth day before the calends of April, or the 25th of March. The statue of Cybele was carried about in procession, and the attending crowds assumed to themselves whatever rank, character, or dress, their fancy led them to prefer. It was a kind of masquerade, full of mirth and frolic. In fact, it was the Earth, under the name of Cybele, which was worshipped at the commencement of that genial season, when she receives from the sun those vivifying rays which are so adapted to the production of fruits and flowers. Let this ceremony be compared with the Hindoo celebration of the Hooli, at the same period of the year. The epithet of *purple* is constantly given to the spring by the Roman poets, in allusion to the blossoms which nature, as it were in sport, scatters over the earth with such variety and profusion. The Hindoos design the same idea in the purple powder *Abir*, which they throw about at each other with so much sportive pleasantry. The objects of worship with the Hindoos are the earth and fire ;

that genial warmth which pervades all nature at that period of the year. The licentiousness of the songs and dances at this season was intended to express the effects of that warmth on all animated objects. The Hindoos have likewise their masquerading processions, in which gods and goddesses, rajahs and ranees, are represented; and the ceremonies are concluded by burning the past or deceased year, and welcoming the renovation of nature."

During the festival of the Hooli, when hilarity and mirth pervade every class of society, one subject of diversion is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expense of the person sent. This is very similar to the first day of April in England. The Hooli is always in the month of March, and the last day is the greatest holiday.

The Hindoo festival of Vastu Puja, on the day when the proprietors of land worship the earth and fire, is similar to that of Vesta at Rome. The Romans worshipped the goddess of nature, under the symbols of earth and fire. The sects of Visnoo and Siva do the same. The former offer an oblation of fruit and flowers, the latter sacrifice a sheep to their respective deities.

In my letters from Dhuboy and Chandode, I have so fully described the Hindoo temples and customs of the Brahmins, that it would be superfluous to add any thing further upon those subjects. I have not, however, entered into many particular ceremonies of the Hindoo worship at their respective temples. Several of their rites are very little known to Europeans, and accord-

ing to our judgment appear absurd and trifling. I will give only a single specimen from the tedious ceremonies with which their ritual abounds, selected from Mr. Colebrooke's Religious Ceremonies of the Hindoos, but without attempting to detail the whole ceremony. Indeed most readers will think this specimen amply sufficient.

“ A *Brahmana* arising from sleep, is enjoined, under the penalty of losing the benefit of all rites performed by him, to rub his teeth with a proper withe, or a twig of the racemiferous fig-tree, pronouncing to himself this prayer, ‘ Attend, lord of the forest ; Sama, king of herbs and plants, has approached thee : mayest thou and he cleanse my mouth with glory and good auspices, that I may eat abundant food ! ’ Then follows a long account of bathing and ablutions, which having finished he puts on his mantle, after washing it, and sits down to worship the rising sun.

“ This ceremony is begun by his tying the lock of hair on the crown of his head, while he recites the *Gayatri*, holding much cusa grass in his left, and three blades of the same grass in his right hand ; or wearing a ring of grass on the third finger of the same hand. Thrice sipping water with the same text, preceded by the same mysterious name of worlds, and each time rubbing his hands as if washing them ; and finally touching with his wet hand his feet, head, breast, eyes, ears, nose, and navel ; or his breast, navel, and both shoulders ; only (according to another rule) he should again sip water three times, pronouncing to himself the expiatory text which recites the creation. If he

happen to sneeze or spit, he must not immediately sip water, but first touch his right ear, in compliance with the maxim, 'after sneezing, spitting, blowing his nose, sleeping, putting on apparel, or dropping tears, a man should not immediately sip water, but first touch his right ear.' 'Fire,' says Parasara, 'water, the *Vedas*, the sun, moon, and air, all reside in the right ear of Brahmanas. *Ganga* is in their right ears, sacrificial fire in their nostrils, at the moment when both are touched impurity vanishes.' This will explain the practice of suspending the end of the sacerdotal string over the right ear, to purify that string from the defilement which follows an evacuation of urine. The sipping of water is a requisite introduction of all rites; without it, says the *Samba Purana*, all acts of religion are vain. Having therefore sipped water as abovementioned, and passed his hand filled with water, briskly round his neck, while he recites this prayer, 'May the waters preserve me!' the priest closes his eyes, and meditates in silence, figuring to himself that Brahma, with four faces and a red complexion, resides in his navel; Vishnu, with four arms and a black complexion, in his heart; and Siva, with five faces and a white complexion, in his forehead. The priest afterwards meditates the holiest of texts during three suppressions of breath. Closing the left nostrils with the two longest fingers of his right hand, he draws his breath through the right nostril, and then closing that nostril likewise with his thumb, holds his breath while he meditates the text. He then raises both fingers off the left nostril, and emits the breath he had suppressed. While he holds his breath, he must on this occasion repeat to him-



self the *Gayatri*, with the mysterious names of the worlds, the triliteral monosyllable, and the sacred text of Brahme. A suppression of breath so explained by the ancient legislator, *Pājirwalcyā*, consequently implies the following meditation: "Om! earth! sky! heaven! middle region! place of births! mansion of the blessed! abode of truth!"

I am cautious in drawing conclusions, or putting a decided construction on the religious ceremonies of the Hindoos; they may be more or less mystical than I am aware of, and many of their customs have possibly a different meaning from that which a superficial observer supposes. A circumstance which occurred at Dhuboy confirms my principle of not forming hasty decisions on dubious subjects. When I had been there two years, a rumour prevailed that I worshipped the devil, or at least that I performed ceremonies, and paid some kind of adoration to the destructive power. On tracing this extraordinary supposition to its source, it appeared to have originated with some of my own servants, natives of the place, who had not been conversant with Europeans. About that time General Goddard, being engaged in a political negociation with Futtī Sibng, paid him a visit at Brodera, accompanied by his staff officers and a considerable detachment from the Bengal army. On his march to Brodera he favoured me with a visit at Dhuboy, where I entertained him a few days in the best manner my retired situation permitted. We generally sat down sixteen at table; as there are no turkeys in Guzerat, young pea-fowl were an excellent substitute, and often made a principal dish. The gizzard and other parts of the pea-fowl, as is frequently practised with the turkey,

were sent from table to be broiled and seasoned with salt, pepper, and kian ; thus improved, the savoury meat was returned hot to table, with the additional appellation of the *devil* ; each guest took a small piece to relish a glass of wine, as customary on such occasions ; and possibly some cheerful toast was given, and passed round. The novelty of this ceremony in presence of my Dhuboy servants, who were strangers to our manners and customs, who neither understood the English language, nor asked for information from those who did, caused them to put a wrong construction upon an innocent practice ; and in a city renowned for sanctity, we were enrolled among the worshippers of the devil !

I have introduced this trifling anecdote as an instance of what a wrong judgment may be formed, and false conclusions drawn, by superficial observers on their travels, especially when ignorant of the language of those among whom they sojourn.

In describing Cambay six years before, during the campaign in Guzerat, I deplored its ruinous condition ; it now presented a scene of desolation ! The Nabob had continued his oppressions, and his subjects sought for protection and comfort under a milder government. Unmindful of the happiness of his people, or the interest of his successor, the chief study of Mohman Caun was to procure money for the gratification of sensual pleasure, and the maintenance of the shadow of a Mogul court. The means of acquiring it gave him no concern. Thus his sovereignty comprised only a dilapidated capital, deserted villages, and a few impoverished subjects, who, notwithstanding his iron sceptre, were still attached to their native soil. Under such a government there is nothing to hope for ; emigration

can alone relieve the burden ; but the measure of oppression must be full ere we bid adieu to our *dii penates*, and the local joys of home ; pleasures which memory loves to cherish. From these independent petty sovereigns there is no appeal ; their tyranny knows no control.

However tyrannical and oppressive over his unfortunate subjects, the nabob of Cambay was esteemed one of the politest sovereigns in India. He immediately sent one of his chopdars with his compliments and congratulations on our arrival at his capital, and presently after we received a visit from Mirza Mahomed Zumaun, the naib, or vizier, accompanied by several moguls and Persian noblemen. On the following evening Mirza Zumaun invited us to an elegant supper, served up in the true Persian style. He received us at the outer gate, and conducted us through a small garden to the flat roof of the house, where we were introduced to several Persians and moguls of distinction. Here we enjoyed the evening breeze and a moonlight view of the gardens, and were amused by successive sets of dancing-girls and musicians, superior to any I had then seen in India.

As I have before observed, it is well known that the Asiatics of either sex, of any respectability, never dance themselves. Throughout Hindostan, whether among the Hindoos, Mahomedans, or Parsees, the master of a feast sends for the public dancing-girls and musicians to entertain his guests ; for himself, his family, or his company to do either, would be quite inconsistent with propriety, and the gravity of character they generally preserve. Amidst the general joy on the annual opening of the aqueduct at Dhuboy, I have mentioned a sort of

rural dance by other females, but this is very rare ; in the lower classes of society it may be more common, although it has escaped my observation. An Indian of respectability could never consent to his wife or daughter dancing in public, nor can they reconcile the English country-dances to their ideas of female delicacy. I remember an amiable Hindoo at Bombay being taken to a veranda overlooking the assembly-room, where a number of ladies and gentlemen were going down a country dance ; on his conductor asking how he liked the amusement, the mild Indian replied, " Master, I not quite understand this business, but in our caste we say, ' if we place butter too near the fire, butter will melt.' " I have thought of this Hindoo when present at some particular waltzing in France and Germany.

During the entertainment of the " singing men and singing women " at the vizier's, the attendants frequently brought dried fruits, pistachio-nuts, and salted almonds, to improve the flavour of the coffee and sherbets, made from the juice of falsee, limes, and different fruits, presented in profusion and variety. Other servants stood near with punkahs and chouries, to cause a vibration in the air, and keep off the insects. Thus luxuriously seated, the Persians smoked their culloons and nargills, kept up a lively conversation, and displayed some taste in music, poetry, and conversation.

At ten o'clock we descended from the terrace to the saloon prepared for supper, which was covered with rich carpets, cushions, and pillows of various kinds, illuminated from cut-glass chandeliers, and ornamented with Persian paintings, representing the youths and

damself of Iran in voluptuous indulgence, amid a profusion of fruit, flowers, ices, and perfumes. This room, supported only by pillars, opened on every side to a flower garden of roses, jasmín, mogrees, and double tuberose, with pomegranates and taller plants, surrounding small canals and fountains playing with delightful effect. The English gentlemen were seated at a table in the upper part of the saloon, covered in the European manner. The other guests, according to oriental custom, were placed in two rows on the carpet, and the supper served between them on a small elevation. The repast consisted of great variety, in pillaus, curries, kebabs, and other savoury dishes, composed of, or intended to be mixed with rice, which is the principal grain eaten by the higher ranks throughout Hindostan. Some of the pilaws appeared to me extremely curious, and were the first I had seen at any oriental entertainment. The vizier asked me to partake of venison, pea-fowl, kid, poultry, and game. Not seeing any on the table, I hesitated in my choice, and was then informed that the different dishes of rice, in various colours, were flavoured with the gravy, or rather essence of all those diversities. An antelope, two or three peacocks, or a dozen partridges, were stewed down into a strong gravy, to flavour as many dishes of rice, which having sufficiently imbibed the essence of the animals, were placed before the fire until every grain was separate, and then served on the table. The liquors offered to the guests were only water and a variety of sherbets. Neither the Persians nor Moguls, in defiance of the precepts of the Koran, often object to wine or much stronger liquors in private.

The wealthy Persian emigrants generally bring with them pearls, diamonds, and other jewels, to a large amount. They lie in a small compass, and are the most certain means of securing a competency in a foreign country. I saw a valuable assortment of precious stones at Cambay, belonging to a Persian nobleman, intended for sale; among them was a diamond of the first water, shaped like a prism, weighing a hundred and seventeen carats, and estimated at twenty-five thousand pounds, which was lost in a dreadful storm a few months afterwards at Surat bar, where the ship in which it was freighted, with a number of other vessels, foundered at their anchors. The proprietor informed me of a diamond then in the royal treasury at Ispahan, which weighed two hundred and sixty-four carats, and was valued at four hundred and twenty thousand pounds. This is probably the same stone mentioned by Tavernier, at that time in possession of the Mogul emperor, which weighed two hundred and seventy-nine carats, and its value was estimated at half a million sterling. The variation in the weight and price in a gem of such magnitude, may be easily allowed between a Persian and European traveller. This imperial diamond is a brilliant of beautiful shape, called by way of eminence, *Kooi Toor*, "the Hill of Lustre," alluding to Mount Sinai, in Arabia, where God appeared in glory to Moses. Another diamond of a flat surface, nearly as valuable as the former, is denominated *Doriainoor*, "the Ocean of Lustre." These magnificent jewels formed part of Nadir Shah's plunder at Delhi in 1739; when the riches he carried off exceeded seventy millions sterling. The most superb article of this imperial spoil was the *Tucht-*

*Taoos*, or peacock-throne, in which the expanded tail of the peacock, in its natural size, was imitated in jewellery, composed of the most costly diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, topazes, and amethysts, producing a wonderful effect. This throne was valued at ten crore of rupees, upwards of twelve millions sterling. After the assassination of Nadir Shah, this plunder was transported into various countries, and since the late revolutions in Persia has been more widely dispersed.

Jewels have been always held in high estimation; sacred and profane writers extol their beauty and value; the Romans, under their luxurious emperors, carried this extravagant superfluity to the utmost prodigality. Diamonds with them do not appear to have been in so much request as pearls, of which they possessed some immensely valuable: one presented by Julius Cæsar to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, cost him forty-eight thousand pounds sterling. The celebrated pearl ear-rings of Cleopatra were valued at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds.

I have frequently mentioned the wild beasts in Guzerat: during our nocturnal encampments on this journey, our attendants, who, probably actuated by their fears, preferred sleeping in the towns, were constantly telling us of the number and ferocity of the tigers in that part of Guzerat, but we were never molested; although, not long before, in travelling by torch-light, with two English ladies, and a large party, from Dhuboy towards the Nerbudda, a royal tiger sprung among my cavalry, overthrew one of the riders, and killed his horse by the blow. The last of the species which I destroyed in the Dhuboy purgunna

was a leopard, most beautifully spotted ; which weighed about two hundred and fifty pounds ; his strength and ferocity equalled his size, and had long rendered him a terror to the villages near his haunts.

So great is the dread of beasts of prey in the villages on the Sabermatty river, at the head of the Gulph of Cambay, that the inhabitants carefully collect all their cattle within the mud walls with which every village is encircled, at the close of day ; after which all egress is avoided ; and even the dogs, instinctively conscious of the perils by which they are surrounded, keep within the protection of the walls.

It is certainly very dangerous to travel in the jungles, or Indian forests, after sun-set, when the savage beasts leave their haunts, and prowl abroad for prey : but as they retire to their dens at the approach of dawn, we do not often hear of accidents. They reign by night, and claim their wild domain : the day belongs to man. Equally beautiful as just is that passage in the royal Psalmist, "Thou makest darkness, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth. The young lions roar after their prey. The sun ariseth, they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens." Psalm civ. ver. 20, 21, 22.

Sir Charles Malet, then President at Cambay, shewed me the skin of a lioness which had been recently found with some of her whelps, in a forest near the river Sabermatty, not many miles from Cambay. The existence of lions in this part of India had been hitherto unknown to Europeans. The northern provinces, bordering upon Persia, abounded with those animals, and afforded noble



sport to the imperial princes in their hunting parties from Delhi and Agra.

As the discovery of lions in Guzerat was perfectly novel, Sir Charles indulged me with an extract from his itinerary, when, in consequence of such an intimation, he went with a party of Moguls and Persians to the forest of Durlee, about twenty miles to the northward of Cambay, two months before our arrival. This extract presents a very interesting scene ; which I shall not clothe in any other language than his own, as it is written with all the zest and warmth of feeling, occasioned by immediate impressions, which no correctness of style or studied expressions can give in a subsequent recollection.

*“ Durlee, 8th of March, 1781.*

“ Having killed some elks and antelopes, without meeting with any tigers, we proceeded this morning to Coora, in a wilder part of the country, where we were more likely to meet with those animals. As we advanced into the wood in pursuit of our game, we saw in one of its thickest glooms a number of large dead serpents ; some entirely devoured, except their skins ; some half eaten, and others apparently just killed ; we also observed the bones of various animals strewed thick all about this spot. On expressing my surprise at this appearance, the country people assured me it was a proof of our being very near the haunt of these savage beasts ; and mutual exhortations followed to be steady and circumspect ; in fact, in a few paces we discovered, in the soft grass and moss, the almost perfect figures of several animals, of various sizes, who had been reposing there ; and the carnivor-

ous smells which then assailed us, and the numerous and recent impressions of the feet of beasts of prey, left us no room to doubt of the evidence which I had just received of this being the gloomy residence of the savage race who had been roused by our approach.

“Having watched for two nights in vain, on the third evening we tied lures of goats and asses under the trees, in three different places, and at each of these stations three marksmen, including myself, watched in a tree. About midnight, four animals, which we imagined to be tigers, but afterwards discovered to be lions, having at some distance taken a momentary survey of the goat tied at one of the posts, rushed furiously on it; and the largest of them seizing it by the neck, with one shake broke the bone, and the animal was instantly deprived of life. The lion then made an effort to carry off his prey, which being purposely bound with strong cords he failed in the attempt. At that instant two of the marksmen posted with me in the tree fired and wounded him, but he suffered only a momentary stupefaction, for immediately recovering, he quitted the slain goat and retired. One of a smaller size instantly came forward and seized the goat, when the third marksman fired, and wounded him; he also directly retired; but, by the light of the moon, we perceived that they both retreated with difficulty.

“On assembling the next morning from our respective posts, we tracked the lions to some distance, by the blood; which having at length lost, I resolved to penetrate into the depth of their haunts. For this purpose I sent for the people of the nearest village,

and with some difficulty prevailed upon them to shew me the place of their retreat. I then accompanied them, with eight musketeers, a few miles further, to an almost impenetrable jungle, or thicket, extending for several miles. Soon after entering this dismal scene, our people from different quarters gave the alarm ; but nothing appearing within shot, we proceeded further into the gloomy forest, which was impervious to the sun's rays, and so entangled with underwood, that we were obliged frequently to proceed upon our hands and knees. In a short time the villagers discovered and announced the wounded lions ; and we were instantly saluted by a most tremendous roar, and a frightful rushing through the thicket ; which, with the gleam of sabres, the shouts of the party, and the thick darkness, formed an awful and terrific scene. The animals retreating, we followed, until we arrived at a part of the wood absolutely impenetrable. Thus stopped, we fired several shot at those places where we observed the birds to appear in consternation, but without effect. I then, with three or four of the stoutest of my companions, endeavoured to push forwards, when our progress was again impeded by a terrific growling, at a very small distance ; but so complicated was the jungle, and so dark the atmosphere, that we could not see our object, nor, had we been able to discover it, could we either have presented our pieces or used our sabres : thus circumstanced, we retired, and fell upon the expedient of collecting the buffaloes from the neighbouring fields, and driving them forcibly into this fastness ; which the buffaloes had no sooner entered than they were saluted by such a horrid roar, as put

them most precipitately to flight, and our game, roused by the charge, changed its situation ; which was observed, and taken immediate advantage of : for, on proceeding to the spot, which was somewhat more open, and consequently more favourable to the use of our arms, I advanced within a very few paces, and lodged a brace of balls in his heart.

“ My fire was seconded by a volley from the other musketeers ; and the noise of their pieces was succeeded by something, which could neither be styled roaring nor groaning, but a frightful mixture of both. Not knowing that our balls had effectively removed every cause of suspicion, and that this vociferation was the symptom of expiration, I concluded that the creature was now thoroughly enraged, and meditating vengeance ; with this idea, I quitted my piece, and betook myself to my sabre ; but after a short pause, observing the rustling in the thicket to cease, and the vociferation to grow fainter, I advanced to the spot where the animal lay ; and one of my people having laid open three of his ribs by the stroke of a sword, I with another nearly severed his head from his body : and then dragging him from his retreat, I hauled him, amidst the acclamations and congratulations of the villagers, to my tents, where I arrived at noon, having spent six hours in rousing, pursuing, and killing our game ; which in that interval had received three balls, exclusive of the wound inflicted on the preceding night.

“ This beast was called by the country people oontia-baug, or camel-tiger, and is by them esteemed to be the fiercest and most powerful of that race. His

colour was that of a camel, verging to yellow, but without spots or stripes; not high in stature, but powerfully massive, with a head and foreparts of admirable size and strength. He was killed near the village of Coora, on the banks of the Sabermatty, fifteen coss from Cambay.

“Nearly five quarts of oil were extracted from this animal, which the peasants of that country consider to be very efficacious in rheumatic complaints, and it is used externally in those and some other disorders. The oil of the lion was extracted by stewing the flesh, when cut up, with a quantity of spices: the meat was white, and of a delicate appearance, and was eaten by the waugrees, or hunters, who extracted the oil.”

We left Cambay at day-break on the 2d of May, and in three hours reached the village of Sujentra, fifteen miles distant; where we pitched our tents, and spent the sultry hours in a tamarind grove, near a spacious lake; indeed, all the towns and villages we saw, had those valuable reservoirs: Abul Fazil mentions an ancient city of Guzerat, called Beernagur, that contained three hundred Hindoo temples, each of which had a tank of water. He also describes the country two hundred years ago exactly as it is at the present day, when the abundance of mangoes and other fruit trees gave it the appearance of a perfect garden; in the midst of which stands the rich and populous village of Sujentra, in the Pitlad purgunna, surrounded by extensive fields, highly cultivated, and planted with rows of mangoes, tamarinds, and khirneys, all large and shady fruit trees. Sujentra

belongs to a set of dancing-girls, who, as before mentioned, frequently have lands and villages assigned them by the princes of Hindostan.

When the sun declined, we renewed our journey, over a broad sandy road, very heavy for the cattle and palanquin bearers. Travelling by moonlight, we arrived at a late hour at Kairah, a considerable fortified town belonging to the Brodera chieftain, situated on an eminence, near the confluence of two small rivers, called the Wartruc and Serrie; we forded the latter, and slept in our palanquins on the banks of the Wartruc.

The next morning we rose with the dawn, and commenced our last day's journey to Ahmedabad, through a delightful part of Guzerat; but, although approaching the capital, we found it not so well cultivated as many other districts, occasioned by being very much infested by the Coolies and Cotties. The villages are large and populous, and the houses built of bricks in frames of timber. Small scattered hamlets would be unsafe in a district where the peasants are obliged to unite in considerable force to defend themselves against the banditti. The land contiguous to the villages was well cultivated, and planted with fruit trees. The fields in Guzerat, except for very particular crops, do not require much manure.

The uncultivated tracts in Guzerat are woody, and abound with tigers, leopards, hyenas, wolves, wild-hogs, and a variety of deer, elks, and antelopes, with those large brilliant eyes, so highly extolled in oriental poetry. The Persian and Arabian poets are extremely fond of alluding to these beautiful eyes, which, according to Lady Wortley Montague's translation, "are

black and lovely, but wild and disdainful as those of the stag:" this idea extends from the gazelle of Arabia to the rein-deer of Lapland, as we find in the songs of those northern regions.

The more I saw of Guzerat, the more I admired its fertility and beauty: to both of which three noble rivers, the Taptee, the Nerbudda, and the Myhi, largely contribute; while the Sabermatty and many smaller streams, water its luxuriant plains. In the reign of Akbar the soubah of Guzerat, it contained nine sircars, or large districts, which were subdivided into one hundred and ninety-eight purgunnas, of which thirteen were sea-ports. The amount of revenue was forty-three crore, sixty-eight lacks, 2,301 dams, together with one lack, 62,628 dams of port duties; the whole being equivalent to sicca rupees 10,96,123,3,11. The measured lands in Guzerat exceeded one crore and sixty-nine lacks of beegahs, and it then maintained 67,375 cavalry, and 8,900 infantry.

The province of Guzerat still abounds with large commercial cities, the capitals of districts which, since the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, have become independent. Populous villages and a well-cultivated country, enrich most of the purgunnas with crops of wheat, rice, barley, and abundance of inferior grain; while cotton, indigo, and tobacco, amply repay the little trouble they occasion the farmer, by a ready sale at foreign markets.

Nature seems also to be peculiarly favourable to the animal tribes in Guzerat: the oxen are esteemed the finest in India; they are perfectly white, with black horns, a skin delicately soft, and eyes rivalling those of the antelope in brilliant lustre. The oxen reared

in the northern part of the province are noble animals, superior in strength, size, and docility; some of them travel with a hackery from thirty to forty miles a day, and are yoked to the carriages of the wealthy Hindoos in distant parts of India. I had a very fine pair of these white oxen, in spirit, size, and beauty, equal to most I ever saw in Guzerat; and in sweetness of temper and gentleness of manners nearly approaching the elephant formerly described in Ragobah's campaign. With these animals I travelled many thousand miles in this delightful province. The Ayeen Akbery mentions some of these oxen valued at one hundred golden mohurs the pair, a sum nearly equal to two hundred pounds sterling; the common price at that period was from ten to twenty mohurs a pair; while at the same time the usual price of a good cow, yielding daily twenty quarts of milk, was only ten rupees, or twenty-five shillings, in the beast market at Delhi. A smaller breed of these animals is employed in the province in agriculture, and the transportation of merchandize. There is also a variety of inferior oxen in size, strength, and value, reared in different parts of Guzerat for the same purposes; these are of all colours, and with the usual characteristics of the species in other parts of Hindostan.

Horses in India are seldom employed for the pack or draft; a great number are bred in different parts of Guzerat to supply the cavalry of the respective governments; those of Cutch and Cottyawar are in high estimation, but the best horses are brought to India from Arabia, Persia, and Tartary; from the two former the trading vessels sometimes import mules of a large size, which are very serviceable animals, and



far more hardy than the fine breed of horses brought from the same country. Many horses of various descriptions are bred in the Deckan and the northern provinces of Hindostan, all of which are sure to find purchasers at the courts of princes, and especially in the Mahratta armies. The horses of Thibet are a peculiar race, generally pied, not exceeding the English galloways in size, natural amblers, and much valued as pads.

Such were the animal and vegetable productions of the country through which we were now travelling. If the government of Mohman Caun, nabob of Cambay, was discouraging and oppressive, I am sorry to say there was no amelioration for the peasantry when we left his purgunna and entered the Mahratta dominions. Whether the districts were under the immediate government of delegates from the peshwa at Poonah, or ruled by different branches of the Guicawar sovereigns in Guzerat, the evils of despotism every where prevailed; the rapacity of venal and corrupt zemindars was felt in every village, and left the wretched inhabitants no choice of masters. Little as the poor ryot of India knows of a comfortable home, that little is most cruelly infringed by rapacious harpies of every description.

The nearer we approached the capital the more we traced the former splendour and magnificence of the moguls: ruined palaces, gardens, and mausoleums, which once adorned the country, now add a striking and melancholy feature to its desolation; these are conspicuous in every village in the campagna of Ahmedabad, and form a striking contrast to the mud cottages and thatched hovels of the Mahratta peasantry.

On our arrival at Betwah, or Puttowah, which we were told had once formed a part of the suburbs of Ahmedabad (but was now a detached village five miles from the city walls), we were conducted to a large square, containing several Mahomedan tombs and grand mausoleums; some were of white marble, others of stone, covered with the finest stucco, white as alabaster, and exquisitely polished. The domes were supported by elegant columns, their concaves richly ornamented, and the tessellated marble pavements, beautifully arranged, vied with those of ancient Rome in the museum at Portici; the tracery in the windows resembled the Gothic specimens in European cathedrals; and the small cupolas which cover each tomb are of fine marble, curiously inlaid with fruit and flowers, in festoons of ivory, mother-of-pearl, cornelians, onyxes, and precious stones, as neat as in European snuff-boxes. The small tombs in the centre of the building are adorned with palls of gold and silver stuff, strewed with jessamin and mogrees, and hung round with ostriches' eggs and lamps, which are kept continually burning by the fakeers and dervises maintained there for that purpose.

Near most of the Mahomedan cities in Asia are these extensive cemeteries (none being allowed within the walls), containing a number of beautiful temples, sometimes supported by pillars and open on all sides, at others closed like a sepulchral chamber, with only one door; each has a marble tomb in the centre, under which is deposited the body of the deceased. These burying-grounds frequently afforded shelter to the weary traveller when overtaken by the night, and

at a loss for better accommodation ; and their recesses are also a hiding-place for thieves and murderers, who sally out from thence to commit their nocturnal depredations. Thus we read in Scripture of demoniacs dwelling among the tombs in Judea ; they are likewise the scene of many adventures in the Persian and Arabian tales.

Except among the Parsees, whom I have mentioned as the followers of Zoroaster, there seems to prevail throughout India the greatest respect and affectionate veneration for the dead. The pious attentions of the Mahomedans, from the magnificent mausoleum of Taje Mahal, the crown of the seraglio at Agra, to the humblest grave strewed with flowers in the village cemetery, confirm this pleasing truth ; and although the Hindoos in general, after burning the body of the deceased and scattering the ashes into the air, do not erect a monument or a cenotaph in any particular spot, yet the parent lives in the memory of his children, and the husband in that of his wife, if she survive him. Numerous annual ceremonies are enjoined, and most affectionately performed by the Hindoos to the manes of their ancestors. Mr. Wilkins, in a note upon the Heetopades, informs us, that a Hindoo's hope of happiness after death depends upon his having a son to perform the offering of the consecrated cake, and other ceremonies, by which he expects that his soul will be released from the torments of Naraka. And we find that Absalom in his life-time reared up for himself a pillar in the king's dale, because he had no son to keep his name in remembrance.

“ Mark the sad rose, once summer's darling pride,  
That threw its blooming odours far and wide,  
Now all its bright, its blushing honours past ;  
Too dazzling fair, alas ! and sweet to last !

“ But, though scatter'd be each silken leaf,  
By cruel Time, that sad despoiling thief,  
Still from those leaves exhales a rich perfume ;  
Still they are sweet, though they have ceased to bloom !  
So lov'd remembrances of joys long fled,  
O'er the sad heart their soothing influence shed :  
While in the breast is sav'd each wither'd leaf  
Of past delight,—to soothe its present grief !”

BY A YOUNG LADY.

I was delighted with the mausoleums at Bctwah, but the Mullahs assured me they were inferior to those at Agra and Delhi, where imperial wealth and magnificence had united to decorate the tombs of the Mogul princes and their favourite sultanas ; the ornamental parts being entirely composed of agates, cornelians, turquoise, lapis lazuli, and other valuable gems, rivaling the most admired specimens of the inlaid marbles at Florence ; where I compared the charming originals on the tombs of the Medici, with some beautiful drawings of the Taje Mahal at Agra, belonging to an English lady in Tuscany, who had visited that magnificent shrine. How forcibly do these remind us of the truth and beauty of the metaphorical language in the Sacred Page, promising sublime and spiritual joys under allusions from these subjects in oriental palaces ! In the prophetic books of the Old Testament it is said, “ I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones.”—Isaiah, ch. liv. ver. 12. In

the figurative descriptions of the New Testament we find the same ideas: "Her light was like unto a stone most precious, even like a jasper stone, clear as crystal: and the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones, the jasper, the sapphire, the chalcedony, the emerald, the sardonyx, the sardius, the chrysolyte, the beryl, the topaz, the chrysoprasus, the jacinth, the amethyst."—Rev. ch. xxi. vers. 11, 19, 20.

From Petwah we travelled over a tract of land, once filled with crowded streets and populous mansions, now a cultivated plain, covered with trees and verdure, unless where a falling mosque or mouldering palace reminded us of its former state. These ruins increased as we drew nearer the city, until at length we travelled through acres of desolation. An universal silence reigned; nothing indicated our approach to a capital, nor did we meet with "one sad historian of the mournful plain," without the gates of Almedabad!

*Et seges est ubi Troja fuit.*—OVID.

or rather let me quote a similar scene in the expressive language of the prophetic writings, of a city still more magnificent than either Troy or the capital of Guzerat, that it should become "a heap of ruins, a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and a hissing, without an inhabitant; the wild beasts of the desert should be there, and the houses full of doleful creatures; the owls should dwell in their habitations, and the satyrs dance in their pleasant places." Jeremiah, ch. ix. ver. 11, ch. xix. ver. 8; Isaiah, ch. xxxiv. ver. 14. Such is now the desolation round the circumscribed

walls of Ahmedabad ; it is literally the resort of tigers, hyenas, and jackals ; the abode of monkeys, guanas, serpents, and noxious reptiles !

“ The spider holds the veil in the palace of Cæsar ;  
The owl stands sentinel on the watch-towers of Afrasiab ! ”

SADY.

## CHAPTER VII.

Description of Ahmedabad — Caravansaries — Public Wells and Aqueducts—Palaces and Gardens—Kokarea—Artists—Mausoleums and Mosque at Sercaze—Palace and Gardens at Shah-Blaug — Nurse's Well — Afghans conquered by the Mogul Tartars—Character of Timur-Lung—Declining State of the Empire, and Usurpation of the Nabobs — Ayeen Akbery—Akber—The Dewane-khass—Reflections on the Mogul History.

THE imperial city of Ahmedabad is situated in the latitude of 23 degrees north, and in 72° 37' east longitude, and is built on the banks of the river Sabermatty, which washes its western wall. From being formerly one of the largest capitals in the east, it is now only five miles and three quarters in circumference, surrounded by a high wall, with irregular towers every fifty yards, in the usual style of Indian fortifications ; there are twelve principal gates, and several smaller sally-ports.

Ahmedabad was built in the year 1426 A. D. by sultan Ahmed Shah, on the site of a more ancient town. The sultan being on a hunting party at a great distance from Gulburga, his usual place of residence, was so delighted with this spot, that he resolved to build a magnificent city, and called it after his own name Ahmedabad.

On every side, nodding minarets, decaying palaces,

and mouldering aqueducts, indicate the former magnificence of Ahmedabad. It was then enriched by commerce, peopled by industry, and adorned by wealth. Long wars, unstable and oppressive governments, and the fluctuation of human establishments, have brought it to a state of decay from which it seems doomed never to recover. From covering an extent of thirty miles, it had dwindled to less than six : much of that space, even within the walls, was covered with ruins, or appropriated to corn-fields and fruit-gardens. Some of the streets were broad, but not planted with rows of trees, as mentioned by Mandesloc, and other travellers ; neither are they paved. The triumphal arches, or three united gates, in the principal streets, with the grand entrance to the durbar, still remain. The mosques and palaces of the Pattans still give evidence of their original magnificence. The streets were spacious and regular ; the temples, aqueducts, fountains, caravansaries, and courts of justice well arranged. Commerce, art, and science, met with every encouragement, when a splendid court was kept in this city ; it was then the resort of merchants, artists, and travellers of every description ; it now exhibits solitude, poverty, and desolation ! You behold the most heterogeneous mixture of Mogul splendor and Mahratta barbarism ; a noble cupola, overshadowing hovels of mud ; small windows, ill-fashioned doors, and dirty cells introduced under a superb portico ; a marble corridore filled up with *Choolas*, or cooking-places, composed of mud, cow-dung, and unburnt bricks.

But declining commerce and ruined buildings are not the only symptoms of decay. I saw a



great many unfortunate Pattan and Mogul families, who, having survived the dignified situation of their ancestors, lived in the gloom of obscurity and felt the degradation of poverty. The young men offered themselves as soldiers of fortune to more flourishing governments, or otherwise sought a provision. The jewels and ornaments of the Mogul paraphernalia were privately sold at a great disadvantage to procure the necessaries of life ; during my short residence I saw many articles thus disposed of, especially a small mirror, in the centre of a single agate, adorned with golden foliage, and roses of small rubies, which had been purchased from a Mogul widow for only ten rupees. Of such females it might truly be said, "her virgins are afflicted, her gates are desolate ; they sigh for bread, they have given their pleasant things for meat !"—Lamentations of Jeremiah, ch. i. ver. 4, 11.

These unhappy families excited our pity ; their wants were not relieved by that generous charity which characterizes my native country, where the children of adversity find affliction softened, and sorrow soothed, by exalted souls, who wipe the falling tear from the orphan's eye, and cause the "widow's heart to sing for joy." Virtues amply recompensed in this life, by sweet sensations in the soul of sympathy, unknown to the votaries of dissipation, and which will meet a glorious reward in that day, when those who have pity upon the poor shall be pronounced blessed, and the merciful shall obtain mercy ! Love is the essence of that divine religion, it pervades the whole system of the Gospel. And from that pure principle in the Christian's heart, flow all the delightful charities of life.

In Ahmedabad, as in most other large cities of India, are splendid remains of those noble structures, for the accommodation of travellers, erected by the Mogul monarchs. They were not always in towns, but frequently in deserts, and places little frequented, except by travelling merchants and religious pilgrims, whose profession led them from one place to another, through every variety of country. When benighted in a dreary solitude, they were certain, within a moderate distance, to find one of these buildings appropriated for their accommodation, and were often supplied with the necessaries of life gratis, at least such as sufficed the lower classes of pilgrims. Opulent travellers, as already mentioned, always carry their comforts and luxuries with them on an eastern journey.

Those buildings, under the different names of *serais*, *caravansaries*, or *choultries*, were erected at stated distances throughout the Mogul empire, especially on the *patshah*, or royal roads. In those provinces which now form part of the Mahratta dominion, many of these structures have been converted into fortresses; others are made storehouses for the grain and hay belonging to the circar; a few answer the purpose for which they were intended, but most are in a state of dilapidation. The serais were generally constructed in an oblong square, consisting of a high wall and towers, with a handsome entrance at each end; a few had a gate-way at the cardinal points. The gates were often of considerable strength, with guard-rooms on each side. Two ranges of apartments for the convenience of the merchants, containing sleeping rooms and warehouses for their goods, formed a street from one gate to the other; with a colonnade, or veranda, in front of

the buildings, opening to a spacious area between them. The serais with four gates contained a double range of these apartments, forming an avenue to each entrance. Under the inner wall of the ramparts were similar accommodations. In the most complete and splendid serais a due regard was observed for public worship, ablutions, and other ceremonies; without the eastern gate was generally erected a musjid, or house of prayer, where a mullah attended to assist the pious Mussulman in his devotions. This edifice, of marble or stone, was often surrounded by a garden, or a tope of mangoes and tamarinds, shading a cemetery for such pilgrims as finished the journey of life at a place where they only intended a halt. The opposite gate often led to a tank, well, and useful gardens: these were noble and expensive works, becoming a wise government, or erected by the piety and benevolence of opulent individuals.

Sultan Ahmed, the founder of the city, enriched it with a variety of other public structures, especially a magnificent jumma musjed, or grand mosque, called after his name, which arrests the attention of all strangers. It stands in the middle of the city, adorned by two lofty minarets, elegantly proportioned, and richly decorated: each minaret contains a circular flight of steps leading to a gallery near the summit, for the purpose of convening the people to prayer, no bells being in use among the Mahomedans. From thence you command an extensive view of Ahmedabad, and the Sabermatty winding through a wide campaign. The domes of the jumma musjed are supported by lofty columns, regularly disposed, but too much crowded; the concave of these cupolas is richly orna-

mented with Mosaic and fret-work ; the portal corresponds with the rest of this stupendous fabric, and the pavement is of the finest marble. This mosque occupies the western side of a large square ; in the centre of which is a marble basin and fountain, for ablutions, called the wazzoo, preparatory to the namauz, or prayer ; such reservoirs and fountains are made near most of the mosques for the convenience of the congregation. The other sides of this spacious area are rendered useful and ornamental by a surrounding corridor, of elegant columns, supporting a roof of light domes, forming a cloister round three parts of the square ; its interior walls and cornices are ornamented with sentences from the Koran, emblazoned in a beautiful manner.

An uncommon degree of solemnity characterises this jumma musjed. Grandeur and simplicity unite, and fill the mind with reverential awe. Whatever may be the general characteristic of the Mahomedans, their demeanour from the moment they enter the house of prayer is truly exemplary. They seem conscious of having approached the immediate presence of the Supreme Being, and all ranks conduct themselves throughout the service with pious humility.

Near the jumma musjed is a grand mausoleum, in memory of sultan Ahmed and two of his sons. Beyond it is the cemetery of the sultanas, princesses, and favourite eunuchs in the royal haram. No domes or temples cover their marble tombs, they are shaded by cypresses and pomegranates, surrounded by flowering shrubs. Certain lands, called *wukf*, are appropriated for the maintenance of the mullahs and dervises who constantly reside there, to preserve the tombs, keep

the lamps burning, and strew flowers on stated anniversaries.

The mosque built by Sujaat Khaun, though less magnificent, is more elegant than sultan Ahmed's; the columns and arches are finely proportioned, and the whole structure, of the purest white marble, surrounded by the dark foliage and glowing scarlet of pomegranate blossoms, had an uncommon effect. "*Mucburré Sujaat Khaun*," is proverbially beautiful among the Moguls of Guzerat. The precincts contain a handsome mausoleum, in memory of the founder, and a fountain of excellent water; near them is the falling palace of this benevolent nobleman, once a sumptuous edifice, now an extensive ruin.

I will proceed no further with the religious edifices than the ivory mosque, which, although built of white marble, has obtained that distinction, from being curiously lined with ivory, and inlaid with a profusion of gems, to imitate natural flowers, bordered by a silver foliage on mother of pearl, similar to those I mentioned at Puttowah, and to the ornaments in the winter apartments of the Kalhya's palace at Adrianople, described by Lady Wortley Montague; which "were wainscotted with inlaid work of mother of pearl, ivory of different colours, and olive-wood, like the little boxes brought from Turkey."

Each of these mosques would have furnished a beautiful subject for a drawing; but while sketching the jumma musjed from the central fountain in the large area, I felt something like a *coup de soleil*, and was obliged to retire. I have seldom experienced greater heat than during the hot winds at Ahmedabad; situated at a distance from the sea, and not refreshed by

its breezes, the external atmosphere, for many hours in the day, was insupportable ; and we were obliged to confine ourselves in dark rooms, cooled by tatties, or screens of matted grass, kept continually watered, of which I have already spoken. I therefore gave up my intention of seeing several places within a few miles of the city ; like Thevenot, when he relinquished his visit to the tomb of *Jonah*, on the banks of the Tigris ; “from there being no possibility of stirring abroad two hours after the sun was risen, until an hour after it had set, the walls being so hot that half a foot from them the heat was as if it were from a hot iron.”

Until this visit to Ahmedabad, I had no conception of the extent of oriental magnificence ; the palaces and splendid chambers described in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, appear no longer overcharged or fabulous. For I have no doubt there was a time when the palaces and gardens at Ahmedabad, almost realized the descriptions of the luxurious mansions in Balsora and Bagdad. I can, at least, have no idea of any reality beyond those erected and adorned by Shah Jehan and Sujaat Khaun. Homer must have been familiar with such scenes, when he describes the palaces and treasures at Ithaca and the Spartan court.

Notwithstanding all its splendour, Ahmedabad was called by Shah Jehan, who was long resident there, *Guerdabad*, or the City of Dust, from the abundance of dust in the dry season. After the prevalence of the hot winds, before the setting in of the rainy season, it is still one of the warmest and most dusty places I ever visited.

I omitted to remark, that one of the principal mosques in this city was formerly a Hindoo temple.

The zealous Aurungzebe converted it into a musjed ; and ordered a cow to be killed there, in order to prevent the Hindoos from ever entering it.

The former consequence of Ahmedabad may be in some degree ascertained from its being one of the four cities where the imperial Akber permitted gold to be coined. There are no remains of the mint, treasury, and many other public buildings ; but several magnificent ruins of the hummums, or warm baths. Those of modern structure are very inferior, but are kept up in different quarters for the convenience of the inhabitants. It is probable that all the oriental hummums, in point of architecture, accommodation, and beauty, have been at all times insignificant, when compared with those sumptuous edifices in ancient Rome, which now form a very conspicuous part of her majestic ruins ; and not only in that once proud capital, but in many of her conquered kingdoms and provinces. Few cities, perhaps, excelled Alexandria in such embellishments. When it was taken by the Saracens the number of baths exceeded four thousand, as we learn from the conflagration of the Alexandrian library, by order of the caliph Omar ; when seven hundred thousand volumes were condemned to be used as fuel to heat them : and notwithstanding that amazing number of baths, six months elapsed before all the books were consumed. The literary world must ever lament this cruel mandate of ignorance and bigotry. The manuscripts had been accumulating for ages ; and the art of printing being then unknown, the loss was irreparable !

In Ahmedabad, as in most other large oriental

cities, are a sort of news-writers, or gazetteers, who at midnight record all the transactions of the preceding day, and send them off by express halcarras, or messengers, to their correspondents in distant provinces. During the splendour of the Mogul government, in the capital of every district, the emperor maintained a gazetteer, an historiographer, and a spy, to collect and record the occurrences of the day; and immediately to transmit them to a public officer at the imperial court, who laid such as were of importance before the sovereign.

Not far from the city wall is a beautiful lake, called Kokarea, about a mile in circumference, lined with hewn stone, and a flight of steps all around. The four entrances, which were probably formerly approached through avenues of the red tamarind-tree, are adorned with cupolas, supported by pillars; in the centre is an island, with a summer-palace, and gardens shaded by the red tamarind; a rare tree, equal in size and beauty to the common tamarind, with a fruit far more delicious, and sent in presents as a confection to distant parts of India. The palace was in ruins, and the gardens neglected. Among a variety of trees still remaining was a very uncommon species of the palmyra; after growing up in a straight stem, to a considerable height, like others of that genus, it shot forth upwards of forty branches, with a tuft of spreading leaves at the extremity of each branch, like the common borassus flabelliformis: this tree was esteemed a great curiosity, and visited by most travellers, who, like myself, had perhaps never seen any but the usual palmyra, or brab-tree, which has only branches and leaves on the summit of a straight single



stem, forty or fifty feet from the ground. A bridge of forty-eight arches formed a communication with the island, which, like all the surrounding ornaments, was in a state of dilapidation.

At a short distance from Kokarea is the Dutch burying ground, containing several handsome tombs, in the style of the Mogul mausoleums. Some of the inscriptions are dated at the commencement of the seventeenth century, when the Dutch had a factory at Ahmedabad, which has been long withdrawn. The English at the same time traded with most of the opulent towns at Guzerat.

The greatest variety of the rich gold and silver-flowered silks and satins, called kimcobs and allichars, were manufactured at Ahmedabad, together with silk and cotton goods of almost every description; the trade in indigo was very great; the best workmen in steel, gold, ivory, enamel, and inlaid mother of pearl, met with great encouragement; it was also celebrated for excellent paper, and lackered ware, in cabinets, boxes, and ornaments. Few traces of this commerce now remain, except a few small manufactures of chintz and kimcobs; and some of lackered-work, ornamented with gold and silver, for escritoirs, boxes, and palanquins, only made when they are previously bespoke. They began and finished for me an elegant sandal-wood escritoir, lackered with black and gold, in ten days.

Paintings in water-colours by modern artists at Ahmedabad, are in all respects very inferior to those of the portrait and miniature painters in the seventeenth century, of which I have many beautiful specimens by artists of Agra and Delhi; often deficient in pro-

portion and perspective, but probably faithful in general character and physiognomy, and exquisitely finished. It is a mistaken idea that the Mahomedan artists do not imitate subjects in animated nature. The Turks I believe sometimes make objections, from particular passages in the Koran; it has always been otherwise in Persia, and the northern capitals of India. Among the munificent acts of the imperial Akber, he employed artists to make portraits of all the principal omrahs and officers in his court; they were bound together in a thick volume, wherein, as the Ayeen Akbery expresses it, "The past are kept in lively remembrance, and the present are insured immortality."

It is not probable that portraits were often taken of females, especially those of distinction. Oriental manners, and the natural jealousy of Mahomedans, would generally prevent it; yet I have seen a few pictures, drawn from Mogul and Persian beauties, in a costume like that of the Mogul lady described at Surat. The noble Mogul women have nurses or duennas, who are not like the temporary nurses in Europe, but such as Savary mentions in Egypt, and common in the respectable families of Hindostan, where peculiar circumstances may require a female of that description, who is not looked upon as a stranger, but becomes *one of the family*, and passes the remainder of her life in the midst of the children she has suckled, by whom she is honoured and cherished like a second mother.

These elderly matrons make no objection to visit a man of character, whether European or native, especially when they can befriend their unhappy mistress or children. Such were they who brought the

agate mirror and jewels to the English gentlemen during my visit at Ahmedabad.

At Sercaze, a sacred place, five miles from Ahmedabad, is a very grand musjed, which is said to be an exact imitation of the temple at Mecca, so highly revered by every pious Mussulman. It also contains a complete model of the kaaba, a square building at Mecca, which the ancient Arabians used to adorn with the best compositions of their poets, written in golden characters on silk hangings. This building was highly venerated by the Arabians, who supposed it to have been the first place consecrated to the worship of the true God. Mahomed availed himself of this tradition cherished by his countrymen, to establish the hodge, or annual pilgrimage to the holy spot ; thither all his devout followers were enjoined, at one period of their lives, to perform the most solemn acts of religion. The artful prophet had also political and commercial designs to accomplish, which, until the late revolutions and new sectaries in Arabia, were very successful : thither resorted large caravans of camels, laden with valuable productions from every part of the east ; and the annual fair at Mecca was perhaps the greatest mart in the world. The woollens, cloths, and useful metals of Europe ; spices, gems, silks, muslins, and all the coarser cottons of India ; ivory, slaves, gold-dust from Africa ; together with all the luxuries and comforts from other places, were sold or bartered at Mecca, and returned by the caravans to every part of Asia. The number of hodgees, or pilgrims, who annually assembled there, frequently exceeded two hundred thousand. During my residence in India, the nabob of Arcot, and other Mahomedan princes, sent ships annually to the

Red Sea, to accommodate the pilgrims of both sexes proceeding to the sacred shrines at Mecca and Medina, with a passage to Judda, the port where they generally landed.

Among other excursions from Ahmedabad, we spent a delightful day at *Shah-Bauhg* or the *Royal Garden*, a summer palace two miles from the city, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Sabermatty. Although built near two hundred years before, by the emperor Shah Jehan, when sultan Currim, viceroy of Guzerat, it was still in excellent repair. The saloon, spacious and lofty as the building, was a fine room; the wall covered with shell chunam, the white stucco before-mentioned, polished like the finest marble, and the ceiling painted in small compartments with much taste. The angular recesses lead to eight small octagon rooms, four below and as many above, with separate stairs to each; they are finished in the same style as the saloon, the walls like alabaster, and the ceilings neatly embossed. The flat roof commands an extensive prospect, the substructions form a cool retreat under the saloon and a surrounding platform, ornamented with small canals and fountains. These substructions are on a level with the flower-garden, which reached to the river; every thing appears to have been elegant and splendid. It was during the reign of Shah Jehan that architectural taste in the Mahomedan structures of India attained its acmé.

The park and pleasure-grounds of Shah-Bauhg extended from the palace to the city gates; they were enclosed by a high wall, which is now in ruins: little of the gardens remain except broken fountains, aqueducts, and a few trees; some of foreign appearance.

The zenana, or sultana's palace, was situated at a little distance from the royal mansion, on the bank of the Sabermatty, with separate gardens, baths, and fountains. The apartments for the officers and attendants of the court were still further detached. Every thing indicates the taste and judgment of Shah Jehan, in planning this lovely retreat from the cares of royalty. It now exhibits a scene of solitude and ruin, except the palace itself. The zenana seems to have been intended to accommodate a great number of females: whether Shah Jehan entertained the same political sentiments on this subject as his grandfather Akber, is foreign to the purpose; but it may not be irrelevant to give Abul Fazel's account of Akber's seraglio, both for its novelty and good sense.

That intelligent writer allows "that there is in general a great inconvenience arising from a number of women; but his majesty, out of the abundance of his wisdom and prudence, has made it subservient to public advantage; for by contracting marriages with the daughters of the princes of Hindostan and other countries, he secures himself against insurrections at home, and forms powerful alliances abroad." He then describes the haram as an enclosure, of such an immense extent as to contain a separate room for every one of the women, whose number exceeded five thousand; who were divided into companies, and a proper employment assigned to each individual. Over each of these companies a woman was appointed (*darogha*); and one was selected for the command of the whole, in order that the affairs of the haram might be conducted with the same regularity and good government as the other departments of the state. Every one re-

ceived a salary according to her merit : the pen cannot measure the extent of the empcror's largesses, but the ladies of the first quality received from one thousand to sixteen hundred rupees, and the servants, according to their rank, from two rupees to fifty-one, per month. And whenever any of this multitude of women wanted any thing, they applied to the treasurer of the haram, who according to their monthly stipend took care their wants should be supplied. The inside of the haram was guarded by women, and the most confidential were placed about the royal apartments. The eunuchs watched immediately on the outside gate, and at proper distances were placed the rajepoots, and porters of the gates ; and on the outside of the enclosure, the omrahs, the ahdecans, and other troops mounted guard according to their rank."

The gardens of the zenana at Shah-bhaug, on the banks of the Sabermatty, must have been peculiarly delightful. I am a passionate admirer of water, shade, and verdure, especially in a sultry climate ; but those pleasure-grounds, and all the Asiatic gardens I ever saw, were deficient in the verdant lawns, artless shrubberies, and varied scenery, which when attempted to be introduced in France, Italy, and Germany, I always found dignified by the appellation of "*Jardins à l'Angloise.*" In Hindostan the royal gardens are often called the Garden of God ; perhaps Paradise is the term intended ; although it must be allowed that the Mahomedans in every thing affect to ascribe their blessings to the benevolence of the Deity.

The princely gardens at Shah-bhaug still boast of some noble cypresses, cedars, palmetos, sandal, and cassia trees, with mango, tamarind, and other spread-

ing fruit trees. The large and small aqueducts, admirably contrived for conveying water to every tree and bed in the garden, with all the surrounding oriental scenery, minutely resembled a picture drawn by the son of Sirach ; “ I was exalted like a cedar in Libanus, and as a cypress tree upon the mountains of Hermon ; I was exalted like a palm-tree in Engaddi, and as a rose-plant in Jericho ; as a fair olive-tree in a pleasant field, and grew up as a plane-tree by the water. I gave a sweet smell like cinnamon and aspalathus ; and I yielded a pleasant odour like the best myrrh, as galbanum, and frankincense. I also came out as a brook from a river, and as a conduit into a garden ; I said, I will water my best garden, and will water abundantly my garden bed.”—Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxiv. ver. 13, 14, 15, 30, 31.

How these oriental portraits may suit in a cold climate I cannot determine. I doubly felt their truth and beauty in the sultry spot where I wrote them ; although for the first time during my residence in Hindostan, I was then on the borders of the temperate zone.

Such as above described by an ancient writer, is still the perfection of an eastern garden. The same trees shade their retreats, the same flowers adorn their borders ; but especially the rose of Sharon, or the Damascus rose, which from the age of Solomon to the present day has been an universal favourite ; and formerly, a considerable quantity of ottar of roses, the most delicate of all perfumes, was made from the rosaries near Ahmedabad. The usual method of making this is to gather the roses with their calyxes, and put them into a still, with nearly double their

weight of water ; which, when sufficiently distilled, will be highly scented with roses : it is then poured into shallow earthen vessels, and exposed to the nocturnal air ; the next morning the ottar or essential oil, extracted from the flowers, is found in small congealed particles, swimming on the surface ; it is carefully collected and preserved in small glass bottles. One hundred pounds of roses seldom yield more than from two to three ounces of this precious essence, which it is difficult to procure unadulterated ; as the distillers frequently put sandal-wood, scented-grass, and other oily plants into the still, which depreciate the value and debase the fragrance of the rose. The genuine ottar is of different colours, sometimes green, frequently of a bright yellow like amber, and often of a reddish hue ; the rose water which remains is generally very good. There may be other methods of extracting this first of all perfumes, in different countries.

About a mile from Shah-bhaug, is a large well, or rather a noble reservoir, constructed by a nurse to one of the kings of Guzerat, and still called the "Nurse's well." A grand flight of steps leads to the water, through double rows of pillars and pilasters, elegantly finished, far below the surface of the earth. This reservoir is all of hewn stone, surrounded by galleries, ascended by circular steps and a dome supported by light columns over each ; these galleries communicate with the principal stairs, and add to the general magnificence. Upwards of thirty thousand pounds were expended on this munificent work ; which some attribute to the nurse, and others to a rich dancing-girl, who erected it with the produce of one of her ancle-



jewels ; the other she is reported to have thrown into the water, to reward the search of the diver ; from that deep abyss it has never been recovered. This ridiculous anecdote appears very inconsistent with the good sense and benevolence of the female, who not only dug this beautiful reservoir, but also founded a handsome mosque near it, where her body is deposited under a costly tomb.

In many parts of Hindostan are mosques and mausoleums, built by the Mahomedan princes, near the sepulchres of their nurses. They are excited by a grateful affection to erect these structures, in memory of those, who with maternal anxiety watched over their helpless infancy ; thus it has been from time immemorial. How interesting is the interview which Homer has described between Ulysses and Euriclea ! When Rebecca too left her parents, on being betrothed to Isaac, we read that she was accompanied by her nurse, who never left her until the day of her death ; which event is not deemed unworthy of being recorded in the patriarchal annals. “ But Deborah, Rebecca’s nurse, died, and she was buried beneath Bethel, under an oak ; and the name of it was called Allon-bachuth, or the *Oak of weeping*.”—Genesis, ch. xxxv. ver. 8.

Ahmedabad was not always the capital of Guzerat. The Hindoo rajahs kept their court at Narwalla, a city renowned in the ancient history of Hindostan for wealth, population, and extent.

I cannot take leave of Ahmedabad, without returning to my favourite sovereign Akber and his excellent Vizier.

The piety and humility of Abul Fazel shine conspicuously in his preface to the Ayeen Akbery, which thus commences :

“ IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD !

“ O LORD ! all thy mysteries are impenetrable.

“ Unknown are thy beginning, and thy end.

“ In thee both beginning and end are lost !

“ The name of both are lost in the mansions of thy eternity !

“ It is sufficient that I offer up my thanksgiving, and meditate in astonishment.

“ My ecstasy is sufficient knowledge of Thee !”

Abul Fazel's character of Akber, with which this sublime preface concludes, is grateful, just, and beautiful.

“ Praise be unto GOD ! Akber, the most exalted monarch of our own times, is endowed with such laudable dispositions, that it is no exaggeration to say he surpasses all the sages of antiquity. From the light of wisdom he discovers all ranks of men ; and by the rectitude of his conduct, he adds splendour to his understanding, by the performance of laudable actions. Who is it that is able to measure the extent of his virtues ? They are not only beyond expression, but even exceed conception. It is better that I make not the attempt, but point out a few intelligible wonders, by setting forth his regulations for the household, for the ordering of the army, and for the prosperity of the kingdom ; upon which three things depends the glory of a monarch ; hereby preparing a rich gift for the intelligent, who seek after knowledge.”

So highly respected was Akber among the Hindoos, who wish to appropriate every thing to themselves, that they insist that Akber was a Hindoo in a former generation. The proximity of the time in which this famous emperor lived, has forced them, however, to account for this in the following manner. There was

a holy Brahmin, who wished very much to become emperor of India ; and the only practicable way for him was to die first, and be born again. For this purpose he made a desperate tapasya, wishing to remember then every thing he knew in his present generation. This could not be fully granted, but he was indulged with writing on a brass plate a few things which he wished more particularly to recollect afterwards ; he was directed to bury the plate, and promised that he would not forget the place in the next generation. Mucunda, for that was his name, went to Allahabad, buried the plate, and then burned himself : nine months after he was born in the character of Akber ; who, as soon as he ascended the throne, went to Allahabad, and easily found the spot where the brass plate was buried. Thus the Hindoos claim Mahomed and Akber as their own ; exactly like the Persians of old, who insisted that Alexander the Great was the son of one of their kings ; so that, after all, they were forced to submit to their countrymen only.

The annual ceremony of weighing the imperial sovereign, with its consequent largesses, ought not to pass unnoticed. As a means of bestowing alms upon the indigent, the Emperor was weighed twice a-year, various articles being put into the opposite scale. The first time of performing the ceremony, was at the commencement of the Persian month Abon, the solar anniversary of his majesty's birth-day. He was then weighed twelve times against the following articles : gold, quick-silver, raw-silk, artificial perfumes, musk, rootootea, intoxicating drugs, ghee, iron, rice-milk, eight kinds of grain, and salt. At the same time, according to the years he had lived, there were given away a like number of sheep, goats, and fowls,

to people who kept those animals for the purpose of breeding. A great number of wild birds were also set at liberty on that occasion. The second time of performing the ceremony was on the fifth of the Arabian month Rejib, when he was weighed eight times against the following things: silver, tin, linen cloth, lead, dried fruits, sesame-oil, and pot herbs. At the same time the festival of Salgeerah was celebrated, and donations bestowed upon people of all ranks. The king's sons and grandsons were weighed once a-year, on the solar anniversary of their respective nativities, against seven or eight things, and some as far as twelve, which number they never exceeded, and according to their respective ages a certain number of beasts and fowls were given away, and set at liberty. There were appointed for this ceremony a separate treasurer and mushreff.

The coins and seals of the empire also illustrate the character of Akber: previous to his reign, gold, silver, and copper, were coined in various parts of the Mogul empire; he restricted the coinage of gold to four places, Agra, Bengal, Ahmedabad, and Cabul; Silver coin was allowed to be struck in fourteen cities, including the preceding four; mints for copper coin were appointed in twenty-eight cities. Great attention was paid to assaying and refining the various metals, and to every department of the mint and treasury. The gold and silver intended for the current coin of the realm, when brought to the greatest degree of purity, was committed to the most celebrated artists, to give each specimen the perfection of beauty. It is well known the coins, medals, and signets of the Mahomedan pennies have no portrait or armorial bearings

cut in the die from which the coin is to be stamped, as is generally practised in Europe: it is usually impressed with the name of the reigning monarch, the date of the year in the Hegira, and perhaps some appropriate or flattering title. In the reign of Akber were struck those immense gold masses, distinguished as the *immortal coins*: the largest, called *Henseh*, weighed upwards of one hundred totahs, in value one hundred *lual jilaly mohurs*, not much short of two hundred pounds sterling, estimating the gold mohur at fifteen silver rupees of half a crown each; others were of half that value; from which they diminished to the small round mohur, valued at nine silver rupees; some of these were marked with flowers, especially the tulip and the rose, but never with the representation of any animated form. In the place of such emblems, Akber had moral sentences and tetastichs from the Persian poets, the praises of the Almighty, or his own titles, engraved on the die in a most beautiful manner. On the sehenseh were these words on one side.

“The sublime monarch! the most exalted khalif! May God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! and increase his justice and righteousness!”

On the reverse of the sehenseh:—

“The best coin is that which is employed in supplying men with the necessities of life, and that benefits the companions in the road to God.”

On some of the smaller coins were the following inscriptions in Persian characters, some of them ornamented with a tulip and wild-rose.

“God is greatest!” on the reverse, “O defender! God is greatest! mighty is his glory!”—with the date.

"This current coin accompanies the star of good fortune ; the sun nourishes it for this cause, that to eternity it may be ennobled by the impression of Akber Shah."

The seals of this illustrious prince were equally characteristic of his piety and justice.

On the seal for petitions were these words :

" Rectitude is the means of pleasing God !"

" I never saw any one but in a straight road."

There is one exception in Hindostan, if not more, to the general rule of the Mahomedan emperors not permitting any effigy, or the representation of men and animals on the imperial coins : this is well known to those who have seen the zodiac rupees in India which in complete sets, are now only to be met with in the cabinets of the curious, or occasionally found singly in different provinces. I once saw an entire collection of these rupees in silver, and a few others procured by chance, of the same metal : those of gold and copper never came within my observation. There are two legends current in India respecting these singular coins. One relates, that in the reign of the emperor Jehangheer, son of the celebrated Akber, and father of Shah Jehan, his favorite Sultana Noorjehan, or Light of the World, a woman of transcendant beauty and genius, having prevailed upon the emperor to grant her power for one day over his empire, she ordered a new coinage in the different metals, to be impressed under twelve varied dies, with the signs of the zodiac, from whence they have been always distinguished by that appellation. This was certainly the most effectual, and perhaps the most ingenious, method

of giving universality and perpetuity to the existence of her influence over an imperial husband.

Another story rejects the interference of the Sultana Noorjehan, in the coinage of the zodiac rupees, which it rather attributes to a whim of the emperor himself; as Jehangheer was a prince of great eccentricity, and though a Mussulman, was a bon-vivant, and possibly issued the order when in a mirthful mood. In refutation to that part of the legend which limits the whole coinage to one day, it is asserted that the zodiac rupees are of different dates, and it is supposed that the Mogul mint-master had some clever European in his service, from some of the figures being executed in a masterly manner, in the European style. The dies are unequal, and some of the impressions are very different.

Akber was succeeded by Selim his son, who then took the name of Jehangheer; this emperor appointed his son sultan Currim to be viceroy of Guzerat, and conferred on him the title of Shah-Jehan, "King of the World," which he retained after he became emperor, in 1628. It was during the reign of Jehangheer, in 1615, that Sir Thomas Roe was sent on an embassy to the Mogul court, by James the First, king of England. About that time the soubah of Guzerat was in a very flourishing condition: if we are to believe the Mogul writers, Ahmedabad then contained near three millions of inhabitants; I should imagine one third of the number to be nearer the truth. When I was there they were reduced to three hundred thousand, of whom two parts were Mahomedans and the rest Hindoos.

During the reign of Shah Jehan, his sons, Morad

and Aurungzebe, successively enjoyed the soubahship of Guzerat, and kept a splendid court at Ahmedabad, which they greatly improved, and there fostered all the arts of peace. Ahmedabad continued under the Mahratta government until 1779, when an English army, commanded by General Goddard, took it by storm; and for political reasons, the city with its immediate territory was ceded to Futty Sihng the Hindoo Chieftain of Guzerat, leaving an English garrison in the citadel, which they were in possession of on my arrival at the termination of the war in 1783, when it was restored to the Mahrattas.

The most splendid palaces at Ahmedabad were in too ruinous a state during my visit, to furnish a sufficient description; but to give some idea of these structures in the time of the imperial princes, I shall mention the dewané khass, one of the halls in the palace of Shah Allum, described by Franklin; which, although repeatedly stripped and plundered by successive invaders, still retains great beauty. "This building is a hundred and fifty feet in length, by forty in breadth. The roof is flat, supported by numerous columns of fine white marble, which have been richly ornamented with inlaid flowered work of different coloured stones. The cornices and borders have been decorated with a frieze and sculptured work. The ceiling was formerly incrustured with a rich foliage of silver, throughout its whole extent; and the delicacy of the inlaying in the compartments of the walls is much to be admired. Around the exterior of the dewané khass, in the cornice, are the following lines, written in letters of gold, upon a ground of white marble: "*If there be a paradise upon earth this is it; it is this; it is this!*" The



terrace of this building is composed of large slabs of marble, and the whole is crowned at top with four cupolas of the same material. The royal baths built by Shah Jehan near the dewané khass, consisting of three large rooms, surmounted by domes of white marble, are lined with the same, and ornamented with beautiful borders of flowers, worked with cornelian stones."

During the splendid reigns of the imperial house of Timur, we behold despotism in rather an engaging form ; in cultivating the arts of peace, she assumes her mildest aspect ; yet absolute power, in its best estate, must be attended with many unhappy consequences. A prince, who wishes to rule with clemency, rarely has it in his power. Shortly after the royal diadem adorns his brow, some confederacy is formed against him, by sons, brothers, or near relations, and he thinks himself under the necessity of putting them to death, or depriving them of sight, to prevent his own destruction from a successor who is too soon to feel the thorns so thickly intermingled with the roses of royalty.

These horrid crimes cast a gloom over oriental annals ; history paints the way to the musnud through a sea of blood ; yet, after being firmly established, the Mogul princes in general governed well. No monarch ever ascended a more sanguinary throne than Aurungzebe ; we start with horror at the treatment of his aged father, and the cruel fate of his wretched brothers ; but when these obstacles were removed, few sovereigns have displayed (except in his bigotted persecution of the Hindoos) more justice and clemency than Aurungzebe, during a long reign of fifty years :

many parts of his character formed a pattern for sovereigns in milder governments. But since the usurpations in the empire, the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the conquests of the Mahrattas, few traces of his excellent regulations exist; we can only lament over their ruins.

I shall not attempt a detail of the cruel oppressions and mean advantages of the Mahratta pundits and governors, now dispersed throughout Guzerat, and occupying these magnificent remains of Mogul splendour. Their severe exactions have already rendered the district of Ahmedabad, once so flourishing and delightful, almost a desert; and thousands of industrious subjects are annually leaving it, to seek protection under milder governments.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Ahmedabad—Mesques and Tombs at Peerana—Dolcah—Cusbattees—Correspondence with Mirza Zummaun, Vizier of Cambay—Slavery in India—Nabob's Entertainment at Dil Gusha—Professed Story-tellers at Cambay—Illustrations of Scripture by Modern Customs in India—Intelligent Brahmins—Departure from Cambay.

WE left Ahmedabad at day-break, on the 8th of May; some refreshing showers had fallen the preceding evening, which laid the dust, and arrayed every object with a lovely *verdure*. This may appear a trifling circumstance in Europe, but it affords an unspeakable pleasure to a traveller in the torrid zone, and at this season of the year is very unusual.

The costly mosques and mausoleums at Peerana, a sacred spot, seven miles from Ahmedabad, detained us a considerable time. These tombs are of white marble, adorned with ostriches' eggs, rows of false pearl, and wreaths of flowers. The walls, pillars, and domes of the mouldering edifices which contain them, are inlaid with small looking-glasses, agates, and cornelians, more gaudy than elegant, and very inferior to the shrines at Bettwah; although these, from having been erected to the memory of Mahomedan saints, are held in higher veneration. The tracery of the

windows is extremely neat, and filled with stained glass from Europe, in the manner of our cathedrals.

From Peerana we rode five miles through a pleasant country to the banks of the Sabermatty, forded its shallow stream, and continued our journey to Dolcah, a large town eighteen miles from Ahmedabad, where the offer of a summer-palace, surrounded by a charming garden, fountains, and groves of fruit-trees, tempted us to remain till the next morning.

Dolcah, a cusbah or town, inhabited by landholders on military tenure, is four miles in circuit, not fortified, but surrounded by a mud wall; the gates are strong, and the town furnishes twenty thousand Cusbattees, who form a sort of equestrian militia; many of them are warlike, of good family, and men of property. Dolcah is celebrated for several spacious tanks lined with stone: one of them is adorned with an island and bridge like that at Kokarea. Near these lakes are several ruined palaces, mosques, and tombs, once splendid and beautiful. The surrounding country was cultivated in large enclosures, planted with mango, tamarind, and kirney trees. In times of tranquillity, the Dolcah purgunna yields a revenue of eight lacs of rupces, but the Coolies and Cotties already mentioned were then so very troublesome, that cultivation only flourished near the towns; the distant plains were assuming the appearance of a forest overrun with a variety of game. The inhabitants of Dolcah assured us that their farmers and ploughmen were attended by warriors to keep off the banditti; and near every village we found centinels

stationed on the highest trees to give notice of their approach. As soon as a watchman discovers a troop of Cotties he blows a horn, or makes a loud cry, which is perfectly understood both by the peasants and cattle; this is repeated by other centinels, and in a few minutes the whole country is alarmed; swains, flocks, and herds hastily retreat to the villages, always surrounded by mud walls or strong milk-bush hedges, and sometimes both. They are occasionally surprised, and these marauders have been known to drive off two or three thousand cattle at a time. The villagers, armed with bows and arrows, attack the Cotties when their numbers are not too formidable; but the latter being always on horseback have greatly the advantage. On account of these predatory incursions, our little escort of cavalry and Arabs, with the necessary attendants, generally occasioned an alarm as we travelled through the country.

Early the next morning we left Dolcah, recrossed the Sabermatty at Angolah, and reached the village of Bursora, fifteen miles from Dolcah, before the heat of the day. Here we pitched our tents, and remained during the sultry hours. In the evening a ride of twelve miles, over an open cultivated plain, brought us to the gates of Cambay; the distance from thence to Ahmedabad, either by Keirah as we went, or by Dolcah our returning route, distinguished as the upper or lower road, is only fifty miles.

After leaving Cambay I had occasion to correspond with our kind host the vizier Mirza Zummaun, when in disgrace, and barbarously treated by the nabob his ungrateful master; his letters were interesting and pathetic: I insert one as a specimen. It was in

answer to a letter of mingled condolence and congratulation which I had written to him at the French-gardens in Surat, whither he had escaped from the nabob's tyranny, under the protection of Sir Charles Malet, then the English resident at the nabob's court, who made the most generous exertions in behalf of the unfortunate Persian, at the moment when the mute and bow-string, or some species of murder equally private and expeditious, awaited him in the nabob's durbar. With the letter I had sent him a drawing which he had requested, of the Temple of Fountains, at Dilgusha, which is the picture to which he alludes in the following letter.

*Translation of a Persian Letter from Mirza Zummaun, late Vizier at Cambay, to James Forbes, Esq. dated from the French Gardens at Surat, 17th March, 1782.*

[After the usual oriental compliments.]

“ You keep an eye of pity and favour on your friend Mirza Zummaun ; for this may Alla protect you, bless you with health, and shower down upon you the dew-drops of felicity. May all my wishes for your happiness in this life be fulfilled, until you arrive at the celestial paradise !

“ Your kind letter reached me in good time, and afforded a gleam of pleasure to my sorrowful heart. I rejoice at your health, and most sincerely thank you for condoling with me in my misfortunes ; it convinces me that there are still men in the world who do not forget a friend in adversity. I cannot tell you what I have suffered from the nabob of Cambay, who

in his heart is not a friend to the English, notwithstanding his outward appearance. I always regarded them ; and the more I knew of them, day by day, the more my friendship increased : this his highness did not approve ; it was one cause among many others for my disgrace, and at length for his determined resolution to take away my life : but life and death are in the hands of God ! without his permission my death was not to happen. Our excellent friend the English resident, on receiving intelligence of my misfortune, instantly flew to the durbar and rescued me from the power of the wicked.

“ The vessel that has a good pilot fears no storm ; in the raging tempests what can happen to her ? Such a safeguard, such a protector is our exalted friend ! He came to save my life in the most critical moment of my existence : had his exertions been delayed a few minutes all would have been too late. Thanks be to God, who pointed out his path, and caused him to bring safety to my soul.

“ I have received the picture ; the Temple of the Fountains, as you observe, will fill my mind with mingled sensations. When I look at that beautiful drawing, it will remind me of the happy hours I spent there with my friends ; it will also recal to my remembrance an ungrateful and perfidious prince, who loaded me with favours and overwhelmed me with disgrace. I am made happy by this act of your kindness. I pray to Alla to keep you in health and wisdom ! What can I say more ? ”

Among the attendants of the Cambay nabob, as also at Surat and other places, are several of the

Abyssinian and Caffree slaves, whom I have before mentioned, called by way of courtesy Seddees, or Master. They are often promoted to great honours, richly appavelled, and furnished with horses, arms, and servants. This is customary among the Moguls, Turks, Persians, and Arabians, and especially the Mamelukes in Egypt, most of whom have ascended to their eminence from such an origin, as the name, signifying "purchased," or "property," implies. The slaves who conduct themselves well find their chains light, are treated like near relatives, and are admitted to great confidence; they often obtain their freedom, and marry their master's daughters. The Mahomedans in general treat their slaves with humanity, and by kind attentions render their servitude easy and comfortable: nor have those purchased by the English in India much reason to complain of their lot; they experience very different treatment from that of their African brethren in the West Indies. No cruel task-masters and overseers increase the hardships of bondage; they are all household servants, often confidential domestic friends, and never employed in agriculture or laborious work. With the Dutch in India indeed their condition is not so pleasant; but the most unfortunate of all are those who fall into the hands of the native Portugueze, generally a worthless race, treating their helpless captives with excessive cruelty.

After all, we must say with Sterne, "disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, Slavery thou art a bitter draught!" Whether the titled slave is a favourite of royalty, clothed with purple and fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day, or whether like my little



Anjengo captives, their wardrobe and monthly sustenance amount only to a few rupees, still the tender ties of parental, filial, and fraternal affection are dissolved; all the domestic pleasures of youth destroyed, and many other painful deprivations accompany the galling chain: such must be the case of slavery even in its best estate. I have witnessed the cruel treatment of the Portuguese slaves in the plantations of South America, and conversed with slaves who filled a high station in India: the latter, no doubt, have most reason to be satisfied; but an English cottager is a happier man. Liberty is his birthright, it sweetens the most homely meal, and gives a zest to every enjoyment, beyond all the favours which an imperial despot can lavish on his fettered minion.

It is painful to remark, but I believe it will be allowed by those who have been in similar situations with myself as collectors of the revenues, that the mildness and equity of the English laws, the forbearance and humanity of our national character, do not always, nor indeed generally, produce the desired effects in Hindostan. I found it so in the revenue department at Dhuboy. The severe and oppressive measures which the people had been accustomed to under their former governors, were more efficacious. Fear is the operative principle; coercion seems necessary in all ranks, from the zemindar to the lowest tandar or patell in the purgunna; the lenity and kindness shown to those immediately connected with the durbar, never to my knowledge produced a return of benevolence in the conduct of the zemindars towards their inferiors. The chain of oppression continued unbroken from the top to the bottom. It is I believe a

true observation, that no masters are more tyrannical than those who have been slaves themselves ; few servants in a free country prefer living with a master or mistress who had themselves been in a state of servitude. Among the oppressions complained of by Nehemiah, under the government of Artaxerxes, he says that not only the governors but even their servants bore rule over the people, and made cruel exactions.—Nehemiah, ch. v. ver. 15.

Thus it is at this day throughout India ; it extends from the savage punishment which I mentioned to have been inflicted on a man of high rank by the prince of Scindy, down to the village patell, who does not acquiesce in the payment of the sum extorted from him by the oppressive zemindars.

As to slavery literally so called, in Asia it is of various kinds. The female slaves brought to the Indian courts from Georgia and Circassia, are in a very high estimation. I have seen some of these reputed beauties, and others from Armenia or the northern parts of Persia : they were generally fair, with dark eyes and clear complexions ; in youth possessing that rich style of beauty so much admired in Persian and Arabian tales. The male slaves generally preferred by the Persians and Moguls in India, are brought from Abyssinia and the eastern coast of Africa.

In the northern provinces it is not so common to have slaves in Hindoo families as in the Mysore and Malabar dominions ; there they are very much employed, especially in cultivation. I believe most of the tribes of Pooleahs and Pariars in Malabar are considered as slaves. Dr. Buchanan observes, that in

Malayala, in the south of Malabar, the usual price of a young man and his wife is from six to seven pounds, if they have two young children it increases their value to nine or ten pounds; and with four or five children, two of whom are beginning to work, the family will produce altogether from fourteen to fifteen pounds; this was at Palu-Ghat: at Manapuram, in its vicinity, children sell from eight to twenty-one shillings a-head, according to their growth. This appears a small sum for the purchase of a slave, but they are as cheap in many other parts of the world. Chardin says the Tartars sold their Polish prisoners for a crown a-head; and the prophet Joel, in describing the miserable captivity of the Jews, says, the children of Jerusalem have ye sold to the Grecians; they have given a boy for an harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might drink.—Joel, ch. iii. ver. 3.

The number of poor people who come down to Anjengo and the other sea-ports from the inland countries, during a famine, either to sell themselves, or to dispose of their children as slaves, is astonishing. During my residence at Anjengo there was no famine, nor any unusual scarcity of grain, but during the rainy season many were weekly brought down from the mountains to be sold on the coast. They did not appear to think it so great a hardship as we imagine; what may be their usual degrees of filial and parental affection I pretend not to determine, neither can I ascertain the Malabar ideas annexed to dulce-domum, and the charities of domestic life; but, without the smallest intention of countenancing West India slavery, I must and do think the feelings of a Malabar

peasant and those of a cottage family in England, are very different; the former certainly part with their children apparently with very little compunction, the latter are united by every tender sympathetic tie. We know that it is no unusual thing for people to sell themselves for bread in eastern countries; it has been practised from the time of Joseph until the present period. The Egyptians sold themselves and their possessions to Pharaoh, to save their lives during a grievous famine; and in the code of Hindoo laws is a provision for the poor wretches who from the same cause might be reduced to the same dreadful necessity. "Whoever having received his victuals from a person during the time of a famine, and hath become his slave, upon giving to his provider whatever he received from him during the time of the famine, and also two head of cattle, may become free from his servitude."

During our stay at Cambay the nabob invited us to pass an evening at a summer palace, called Dil-Gusha, which means the Heart's Delight, literally the exhilaration or expansion of the heart. Dil-Gusha is contiguous to the city, and being the spot in which the nabob then most delighted, the pavilions and gardens were kept in good order, while his other villas were entirely neglected. The principal building at Dil-Gusha consists of two octagon halls, on the northern terrace of an upper garden; from thence a flight of steps leads to the lower garden near a lake, containing the zenana and private apartments, where no strangers intruded; at the south end of the upper garden is another pavilion with a flat roof, commanding an extensive view over the gulph of Cambay, on which the nabob generally entertained his evening visitors.

The size of these gardens does not admit much variety in the walks and shrubberies; choice trees and shrubs border a narrow canal between the pavilions, adorned with a number of small fountains; the centre of the canal expands round an octagon marble temple of a singular construction; each perforated column contains a leaden pipe, which conveys water to the roof of the temple, where from eight fountains round the dome it falls over the projecting architrave on screens of sweet-scented khusa-grass, and gently trickling through the matted verdure renders the internal atmosphere delightful. \ Imagination can hardly form a more luxurious regale in the torrid zone than to repose in a temple of fountains, lulled by the notes of bulbuls in the surrounding groves.

This retreat affords a charming alleviation to the heat of a tropical day. The evening, as already mentioned, has its peculiar delights. The rays of Cynthia give a softened beauty to the gardens; the shrubs and flowers emit a double perfume, and the lordly champach fills the air with fragrance. ✓

Most of the royal gardens in India have an appropriate name, and frequently an inscription over the portal in Persian poetry, hyperbolically descriptive of their attractions.

After a recreation in the garden, the nabob accompanied us to the roof of the pavilion, where music and dancing-girls awaited us. Fire-works on the canal illuminated its fragrant borders, and exhibited a curious scene of alternate fountains, playing fire and water, falling among shrubs and flowers. The supper, similar to that at the vizier's, consisted of various rich dishes; the different sherbets were improved by spices and rose-water. The nabob was affable and polite,

helped us himself from the best dishes, and kept up a sprightly conversation. On our taking leave he sprinkled us with ottar of roses; and, agreeably to the custom of Asiatic princes, presented to each betel, shawls, and kincobs.

It is not easy to give a literal translation of the dancing-girls' songs, but as they were superior to any I had heard before, I attempted an imitation from the communication of a friend, who understood the language, and had been accustomed to these entertainments.

A SONG OF ROSHAN, OR ROXANA :

*A female appellation signifying splendor.*

When, oh my beloved! wilt thou return? delight of my heart, and treasure of my soul, oh! when wilt thou appear to bless thy Roxana? In vain do I wait thy approach; thou comest not to thy love: mine eyelids are weary in watching thy footsteps. The sofa of my beloved is decked with garlands of mogrees, overshadowed by a canopy of jessamin. I have strewed it with the sweet dust of Keurah, and perfumed it with ottar of roses: I am scented with the oils of Lahore, and tinged with the blossoms of hinna; haste then, my beloved, to thine handmaid, gladden her heart by thy presence!

A SONG OF SELIMA.

Abdallah! lamp of my life and possessor of my heart; my first, my only love! In vain do I call upon thee, thou art afar off; thou hearest not the

voice of thy Selima, once the most favoured of thy slaves !

Abdallah ! my king ! my love ! thou hast decked me with diamonds of Golconda, and covered me with pearls of Ormuz ;—what are diamonds and pearls to her that is forsaken ? the jewel most prized by thy Selima is no longer her own—give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor !

The shawls of Cassimer and the silks of Iran presented by my lord, have no longer any charms for thy Selima ; thy palace, thy baths, thy gardens delight me no more ; take them again ; what are they all, compared with the heart of my Abdallah ? O give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor !

The gardens and groves, once the fond retreat of thy Selima, afford me no pleasure ; the mango and pomegranate tempt me in vain ! The fragrance of champahs and odour of spices I no longer enjoy ;—my damsels delight me no more, and music ceases to charm. Return, oh my lord, to thine handmaid, restore her thy heart, and every pleasure will accompany it ; O, give thy heart to thy Selima, restore it to its first possessor !

The Persians and Moguls whom we met at these parties seemed fond of poetry, and one of them was favoured by a plaintive muse. The orientals allow the Europeans to excel in history, philosophy, and ethics, but suppose we have very little taste for poetry, especially odes, in the style of Sappho, Anacreon, and Hafiz, of which they are extremely fond.

The fruit, flowers, spices, and perfumes, introduced

at these entertainments, exercised the talents of the Mogul and Persian youth. We had several pleasant specimens of their genius during the evening in little odes, distichs, and other effusions of poetry. The splendour of the moon, the fragrance from the garden, the elegance of the dancers, and the beauty of their songs, afforded the subjects. I have preserved several which were written at the moment, by a young Shah-zadah, who committed them to paper as they were composed, in a most elegant style of penmanship; which, on fine Indian paper, flowered in silver and spotted with gold, contrasted by the strong Persian letters, produces a beautiful effect.

Distichs and poetical effusions are sometimes written upon the leaves of plants and flowers; this was not practised on the present occasion. D'Herbelot mentions it, but leaves us at a loss to guess what kind of myrtle afforded a leaf sufficiently large, in his anecdote of Kessai and Al Mamon, the son of the famous Khaliff Haroun al Rasheed: "Kessai one day presented himself at the door of the apartment of Al Mamon, to read one of his lectures; the prince, who was then at table with his companions, wrote him a distich upon a leaf of myrtle; the sense of which was, 'There is a time for study, and a time for diversion: this is an hour I have destined for the enjoyment of friends, wine, roses, and myrtle.' Kessai having read this distich, answered it upon the back of the same myrtle leaf in four lines; the meaning of them as follows: 'If you had understood the excellence of knowledge, you would have preferred the pleasure that gives, to what you at present enjoy in company; and if you knew who it is that is at your door, you would



immediately rise, and come and prostrate yourself on the ground, praising and thanking God for the favour he had bestowed upon you.' Al Mamon had no sooner heard these verses than he quitted his company, and came to his preceptor."

I shall not introduce the productions of this evening, but select the following lines, as a more complete specimen of the elegant recreation to which I allude:—

STANZAS OF A SONNET, BY SADI.

Strike, strike the lyre ! let music tell  
The blessings Spring shall scatter round :  
Fragrance shall float on ever gale,  
And opening flow'rets paint the ground.

Oh ! I have passed whole nights in sighs,  
Condemn'd the absent fair to mourn ;  
But she appears—and sorrow flies,  
And pleasure smiles on her return.

The following distichs are of a more serious nature, but the Mahomedans in general affect piety and morality, and the allusion of the pearls formed from tears, in the last line, is taken from an idea common among the Asiatics, that the pearls found in certain shell-fish are produced from drops of rain-water which they imbibe.

“ Who made manifest the vital and intellectual powers ?  
Who confirmed the foundation of understanding ?

Who, into the form of the human frame, breathed his animating  
spirit ?  
Who bestowed reason, and inspir'd the soul ?

Who painted with lively colours the check of the tulip,  
And made of the dew-drop an ornament for the rose-bud ?

Who crowned the summit of the heavens with a diadem of constellations,  
And ting'd the hard bosom of the ruby with a vivid glow ?

Who enkindled the fire of the moon as a nocturnal lamp ?  
And perfum'd the flower-garden with the fragrance of burning incense ?

Who spread out the earth on the face of the water,  
And form'd precious pearls from the tears of the clouds ?"

At the entertainment given us by the nabob, he was attended by the vizier and all his great officers ; and from a latticed chamber the ladies of the haram (invisible to us) had a view of the European strangers. A part of his domestic establishment consists of professed story-tellers, called *kissa kawn*, a class of people well known to the admirers of Persian and Arabian tales : they have always been entertained by the oriental princes. Richardson, in his valuable dissertations on eastern manners, says, " professed story-tellers are there of ancient date ; even at this day men of rank have usually one or more, male or female, among their attendants, who amuse them and their women, when melancholy, vexed, or indisposed ; and they are generally employed to lull them to sleep. Many of their tales are highly amusing, especially those of Persian origin, or such as have been written on their model. They were thought so dangerous by Mohammed, that he expressly prohibited them in the Koran."

One of my friends, a former resident at Cambay, and a favourite of the nabob, being ill with a fever, which banished sleep and baffled the power of medicine, the nabob sent him two female story-tellers, of respectable Mogul families, but neither young nor

handsome. Placing themselves on each side of his pillow, one of them in a monotonous tone commenced a tale, which in due time had a soporiferous effect ; the patient enjoyed a slumber to which he had long been unaccustomed ; when he awoke the story was renewed exactly where it had left off. Thus these venerable dames relieved each other day and night, until by a charm more efficacious than the juice of poppies, they wrought a cure.

At these Cambay suppers I observed many striking resemblances to the manners and customs recorded by Homer and other ancient writers. The feasts of the Grecian bard are often counterparts of modern orientalism ; and the entertainment and presents given by the governor of Egypt to the strangers from Canaan, is an exact picture of what constantly occurs in an Asiatic durbar ; quotations would be endless ; but there are many passages in Scripture which might be illustrated by an attentive observer of modern manners, particularly in that beautiful and pathetic narrative of our blessed Redeemer, when a guest at the house of a rich Pharisee. There the penitent Mary comes with an alabaster box of precious ointment, to anoint the feet of her Saviour, and to wipe them with the hairs of her head. The proud host was astonished at this attention being permitted from a sinner ; and although he did not express his sentiments upon the occasion, he internally passed sentence upon the humble female, little imagining that his thoughts were well known to a guest, who, though veiled in mortality, was the great Searcher of his heart, and knew all its motions. In formerly perusing this affecting relation, I have been surprised at the admission of such a

woman into the mansion of the Pharisee ; but when I noticed the open halls and gardens in which the oriental feasts are given, the variety of strangers admitted, and the familiarities which I have seen them take, and have myself experienced, I cease to wonder, and am convinced that by a minute attention to scenes daily transacting before us, not only the present seeming inconsistency, but many of far more importance, which have exercised the malignant wit of Voltaire and his disciples, might be pleasingly and effectually elucidated. It is notorious that ridicule is the principal instrument which the French philosopher makes use of to depreciate the Gospel ; with his success by means of this engine, in his writings, conversation, and example, all Europe is unhappily but too well acquainted. I had an interesting conversation on this subject with the late Bishop Porteus after my return from captivity in France, when that excellent prelate wished to be particularly informed whether true religion, under whatever outward profession, had sprung up from the prostrate altars of the Gallican church to counteract the fatal effects of Voltaire's philosophy, concluding in language similar to that which he had more publicly delivered, " that Voltaire's writings had unquestionably produced more infidels among the higher classes, and spread more general corruption over the world, than the voluminous productions of all the other philosophists of Europe put together."

The fatal tendency of infidelity among the Europeans in India, especially the younger part of the community, has been mentioned. Bereft of parents and friends, we had none to address us in the language of the pious Gellert, the amiable professor of Leipsic :

“ O ! if the testimony of a friend, of a tutor, can have any weight with you ; if mine, my dear young friends, can have any influence over you, whenever any presumptuous reasoner would set you against the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures ; or when the infidel, not knowing how to tranquillize his own mind, undertakes to extinguish in yours a belief, the holiness of which confounds him, O Christian youth, let him never find one amongst you, who may dare to despise the most excellent of all books, and make it a subject of raillery ! Let the Scriptures be at all times the object of your veneration ; it constitutes your happiness on earth, and secures it in heaven ! ”

Our Saviour, illustrating a spiritual subject, says, a certain man made a great supper, and invited many suitable guests : on neglecting the invitation, the host sent his servant to tell them that his oxen and fatlings were killed, and every thing ready for their entertainment. When, after a second call, they all sent an excuse, the master of the house ordered his servants to go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city, and to bring in the poor and the maimed, the halt and the blind, and to go into the high-ways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that his house might be filled. This is certainly very unlike the manners and customs of modern Europe : when we examine those of Asia in ancient and modern times, we shall find it literally fulfilled ; the hospitality of the present day exactly resembles that of the remotest antiquity.

A passage in Dr. Pococke's Travels exactly illustrates the concluding circumstance in our Saviour's parable of the great man's supper ; which was doubtless very familiar to the company assembled at the

house of the Chief Pharisee, whose guest he then was, and to whom he was making the application for a very different purpose. In Dr. Pococke's account of an entertainment made by the governor of an Egyptian village, for the cashif, or chief of the district, with whom he travelled, he says, the custom was for every one when he had done eating, to get up, wash his hands, and take a draught of water ; and so in continual succession, until the poor came in, and ate up all ; for the Arabs never set by any thing that is brought to table : when they kill a sheep, they dress it all ; call in their neighbours, and the poor, and finish every thing. An Arab prince will often dine in the street before his door, and call to all that pass, even to beggars, in the usual expression of *Bismillah* ; that is, in the name of God : these poor people then sit down, partake of the dinner, and when they have done, retire with the usual form of returning thanks.

The familiarity to which I allude in the entertainment at the Pharisee's house, where Mary uses the box of ointment, is not only common, but is far from being deemed either disrespectful or displeasing. During my visit at Cambay I usually wore a cornelian ring containing my name cut in Persian characters ; which I used as a seal to official papers at Dhuby. This being observed by the sciddees and nabob's attendants when we supped at his garden-house, they approached me with that sort of freedom I have just mentioned, not only to admire the ring, but to take it off my finger, and hand it round among each other, and to the servants of the vizier and noblemen present, exclaiming *Yacoub Forbés* : this was circulated, and

by that appellation I found myself afterwards generally known and greeted throughout the city of Cambay.

The Asiatic females, especially among the wealthy Moguls and Persians, are now exactly in the same situation as they were placed by a Persian monarch some thousand years ago ; the story of Ahasuerus and Vashti is completely descriptive of modern orientalism. Here we behold an eastern monarch, in the zenith of power, reigning over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces, extending from India to Ethiopia ; “making a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king’s palace ; where were white, green, and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble ; the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black marble.”—*Esther*, ch. i. ver. 5, 6. This is exactly descriptive of the *shahmyanah*, or large canopy, spread upon lofty pillars, in the gardens and courts of the Mogul palaces, and attached by similar cords of various colours ; of which I have already spoken. Some of these awnings, belonging to the Indian emperors, were very costly, and distinguished by various names ; the most so was that called the *bargah*, mentioned in the *Ayeen-Akbery*, belonging to the emperor Akber ; which was of such magnitude, as to contain ten thousand persons ; and the erecting of it employed one thousand men for a week, with the help of machines ; one of these *shahmyanahs*, without any ornaments, cost ten thousand rupees.

I cannot illustrate what the beds of silver and gold were, from modern Asiatic furniture. The *divan*, or

hall of audience, as also the room for receiving guests in private houses, is generally covered with a Persian carpet; round which are placed cushions of different shape and size, in cases of gold and silver kincob, or of scarlet cloth embroidered: these are occasionally moved into the courts and gardens, and placed under the shamyanah, for the accommodation of company. Respecting another kind of bed mentioned in Scripture, I think there can be little doubt, that it means the palanquin of Hindostan, or something very similar; in which the prince not only reclines, or sits in state in paying visits of ceremony, but the traveller also reposes during a journey, as if he were in his own bed. I have been in a situation nearly nine months together, in which I not only travelled in my palanquin during the day, but slept in it every night, with the purdoo or curtain dropped round it; either in or out of a tent, under a shamyanah, or a banian-tree, as the weather permitted.

The words in Solomon's Song, to which I allude, exactly describe the procession of an Indian prince in his palanquin, surrounded by his guards: "Who is this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant? Behold his bed, which is Solomon's; threescore valiant men are about it, of the valiant of Israel; they all hold swords, being expert in war; every man hath his sword upon his thigh. King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon; he made the pillars thereof of silver, the bottom thereof of gold; the covering of it of purple; the midst thereof being paved with love for the daughters of Jerusalem."—Solomon's Song, ch. iii. ver. 6, 7,



8, 9, 10. The latter may correspond more with the hackeree, or Indian chariot, drawn by oxen.

The history of Ahasuerus affords a most remarkable instance of the venality, corruption, and cruelty, of an oriental tyrant. This sovereign of Media and Persia, encircled by wealth, splendour, and power, accepts of ten thousand talents of silver (offered by a nobleman whose pride was offended at the neglect of a foreigner), to issue a decree, by which some hundred thousand unfortunate captives dispersed throughout his extensive empire, were commanded to be put to death. "And the king took his ring from his hand, and gave it unto Haman; and letters were sent into all the king's provinces, to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. Let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and the crown royal which is set upon his head; and let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes, that they may array the man withal whom the king delighteth to honour, and bring him on horseback through the streets of the city, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour.—Esther, ch. iii. ver. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15. ch. vi. ver. 8, 9.

In this history we see an exact description of the mode of conferring honour on the favourite of a sovereign; a princely dress, a horse, and a ring; these are now the usual presents to foreign ambassadors; such as I have seen exchanged between the Mahratta peshwa, and the nabob of Cambay: and presented to an Eng-

lish chief, or the commander of a British army. The taking off the signet from the royal finger, and affixing it to the decree; dispatching the *halcarras*, or posts, to the provinces, and several other preceding circumstances, are still constantly practised in an oriental *darbar*.

These frequent quotations from Scripture, to illustrate the manners and customs of Hindostan, will I trust be excused. Gibbon the historian, although no friend to Christianity, has candidly acknowledged, that "if the Sacred Writings be considered but as human productions, they deserve to be studied, as one of the most curious and original monuments of the East." And Granville Penn, a writer of a very different spirit from Gibbon, says, "that it is impossible for the utmost power of human industry and circumspection to gather in the harvest of sacred criticism so completely, as that here and there an ear should not remain behind for the gleaner who comes after;" and it is with these, and no loftier pretensions, that such are now offered to the reader.

I mentioned the taste of the Moguls and Persians at Cambay for poetry and the belles-letters during an evening entertainment. The day following I was introduced to a Brahmin, with whom I was agreeably surprised and very much delighted. He was intimate with Sir Charles Malet, and had profited by his acquaintance: he understood English, and having access to his friend's library, he read our books with great facility, and particularly studied a voluminous dictionary of arts and sciences, from whence he had acquired a fund of useful knowledge and a liberality of sentiment uncommon in his caste. He was fond

of drawing, and had acquired a skill and judgment in that amusement beyond any native I ever met with ; he presented me, on a further acquaintance, with fifty portraits of persons well known at Cambay and the adjacent country, high and low, of different tribes and religions, in their various costume and distinct character of countenance, together with drawings taken from the life of the most celebrated yogees, senassees, and other religious pilgrims, who frequented the Hindoo temples at Cambay.

On leaving Cambay we crossed the Myhi, and returned to Jamboscer by a different route, but not sufficiently interesting to discriminate. I remained a few days with one of my friends conversing with the Hindoos and principal people in Jamboscer, whose manners and customs varied but little from those in the Dhuboy districts. From thence I performed a solitary journey to Ahmood, Baroche, and my own purgunnas ; during which, deprived of my interesting companion, I had leisure to reflect on all we had lately seen, and to form an estimate of the happiness enjoyed by the inhabitants of Guzerat under the native princes, compared with the blessings of security and protection extended to those in the English districts, or rather the empire of British India ; no longer under the government of only a commercial company, but subjects of a sovereign who sways his sceptre over those distant realms, where at least sixty millions of civilized, industrious, and peaceable people, look up to British energy and public virtue for a preservation of tranquillity and happiness. Much has been done both at home and abroad to effect this glorious purpose ; much yet remains for improvement

in the civil and religious establishment of that vast empire. We must, by our national character for justice, clemency, and generosity, gradually secure the gratitude and affection of the natives : and then great will be the ascendancy of British administration, patriotic virtue, arts, and science, over Asiatic despotism, venality, and corruption.

Let British India boast of a mild, free, uniform, and stable government ; let its delegated rulers shew by their religious, moral, and political conduct, that they are themselves actuated by the religion, morality, and policy which they wish to enforce—a religion of love and mercy, of inward purity and heartfelt delight ; a religion, which dwells in the heart, and influences the conduct. And under the blessing of HIM by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, posterity will behold a wonderful change, and be convinced that the Hindoos are not so rivetted to the prejudices of caste and superstitious ceremonies, as to refuse the proffered blessings of liberty, protection, and peace. Let a wise Administration remove ignorance and vice, and individual example exhibit the perfection of British virtue and Christian piety, and the beneficial effects will be ere long proved.

If the traveller in various countries makes a comparative statement of human happiness, he will find, with few exceptions, that the Great Author of Nature has distributed it more equally than he first imagined, from imperial Akber, fakeer with his staff and lark ; from the splendid rajah and proud Brahmin, to the wretched Pooleah and outcast Chandalah ! Although he cherishes a hope that ere long, under British jurisdiction, the con-

dition of the latter will be ameliorated, he also enjoys some degree of satisfaction in observing, that man, in a state of ignorance, is generally reconciled to his situation, and that consequently there is less individual happiness or misery than is at first apparent.

## CHAPTER IX.

Irruptions of the Gracias and Bheels—Account of the Bhauts—Astrologers and Soothsayers in Hindostan—Astrology and Geomancy taught in the Hindoo Seminaries—Wise Women of the East—Anecdote of Zeida—Stanzas from the Yusef Zelakha of Jami—Virtues of Ointments and Love-potions.

THE emigrations from the Brodera purgunna, occasioned by Futtý Sihng's oppressive government, added so much to the prosperity of the Dhuboy districts, that at the commencement of the fair season, after the most seasonable rains in 1782, I found their population, and consequently the cultivation and revenue, much increased. They would have been still more flourishing, had not the cruel depredations of the Bheels and Gracias prevented the distant villages from sharing the tranquillity enjoyed by those situated nearer the protection of the capital. I have occasionally mentioned both these banditti; the former were wild mountaineers, under no regular government, and almost in a savage state; the latter, in considerable numbers, were arranged according to their religion and caste, under a variety of petty sovereigns, Hindoos and Mahomedans, who were dignified by the titles of rajah, ranah, and other royal appellations; and had their viziers, officers of state, and usual appointments in an oriental durbar, blended with a

meanness and rapacity difficult to conceive. In this instance I allude to the rajahs and ranahs of Mandwa, Vazeria, and Veloria, contiguous to the Dhuboy purgunnas. There were Gracia chieftains at Ahmood and other places in Guzerat of a more respectable character.

These Gracias style themselves the aborigines of the country ; alleging that many ages ago the ancestors of the modern Hindoos possessed themselves of their property, and drove them to the eastern hills ; under this plea, they rush down, armed, in large bodies of horse and foot, upon the defenceless villages, and make heavy demands upon the inhabitants ; which, if not complied with, subjects them to the most atrocious cruelty and depredation. The marauders leave a written menace, or deliver a threat to the patell of the village, and probably on the following night come down with considerable force to burn the houses, drive off the cattle, and destroy the harvest. They sometimes murder men, women, and children, without the least provocation.

During the Hindoo and Mogul governments at Dhuboy, detachments of armed cavalry patrolled the country, and protected the inhabitants ; if the cruel Bheels and merciless Gracias did not retire on their approach, they cut them down, or destroyed them as so many wild beasts. On my appointment to Dhuboy, willing to give the Gracias a better opinion of British administration, and to impress their minds with a sense of our justice and moderation, I wrote letters to the different chieftains, desiring them to send proper persons to state their claims, in the cutcheree (or revenue-court) at Dhuboy ; assuring them, that at

the time of settling the jumma-bundee, or harvest agreements, and appropriating the revenue to the respective claimants, their reasonable demands should be satisfied provided they remained within their own districts, and did not molest the Company's subjects. I threatened them at the same time with the punishment due to such atrocity, if they continued their depredations.

The Gracias from the first, made light of these proceedings, and afterwards treated them with contempt. My small detachment of cavalry, patrolling the districts, could effect but little against much larger bodies of Gracias well accoutred. The vertunnees, or armed-men, kept for the defence of each village, were generally driven within their mud walls. They sometimes sent me the head of a Bheel, as already mentioned, but met with no encouragement for so doing. Year after year of remonstrances, and mistaken clemency on my part, only added insolence to their cruelty and treachery. Anonymous letters, filled with abusive menaces to the inhabitants of Dhuboy, and threatening destruction to the villages, were tied up by night to the outward gates of the city. When apprehensive of any effective measures being taken against them, the Gracia chieftains thought proper to disavow any knowledge of these papers, which were often addressed to myself; but always without a signature. These letters were sometimes more openly delivered, accompanied by the most wanton cruelties.

The Gate of Diamonds, or eastern portal at Dhuboy, has been particularly described; as also the custom of the inhabitants, to repair thither to enjoy the fresh and verdant shades without the walls. There they



met their friends every morning, and talked over the news of the day, a subject the Indians of all denominations are fond of. A few peaceful Hindoos were one morning assembled on a verdant slope without the Gate of Diamonds, when two armed Gracias on horseback rode up, and asked them if I was at the durbar; being answered in the affirmative, one of these cruel wretches threw a letter to a Brahmin, saying, "Deliver this to your sirdar; but that you may not forget it, take this also, by way of remembrance;" at the same instant thrusting a spear into his side. The other delivered a letter intended for me to a Banian; and, by way of enforcing a similar message, cut him across the breast with a scimitar. The wounds did not prove mortal, but they were both a considerable time under the care of a surgeon.

A frequent repetition of these outrages compelled me to urge the governments of Baroche and Bombay to send a military force against these banditti. Many villages were entirely depopulated, and the inhabitants, on emigrating into other countries, declared that notwithstanding the justice and clemency of the English laws, and the enviable blessings they enjoyed under their benign influence, they would rather become the subjects of an Asiatic despot who would protect them from the Gracias. In consequence of these representations, the garrison of Dhuboy was reinforced by a strong detachment of infantry and artillery from Baroche; which enabled me to send a sufficient force against Mandwa, the capital of Gomanny Sihng, the chief Gracia rajah. This fortress, the strongest in their country, was deemed impregnable, from its situation; and had always bade defiance to the Indian armies

sent against it. My instructions to the commanding officer on this occasion, (consistent with rules then established in the Company's service) will evince the moderation and clemency, constantly enjoined and practised by the British armies in India, on campaigns of more importance.

SIR,

On your detachment being joined by the troops from Baroche, you will march with the united force under your command to Mandwa, the capital of the Gracias, and there endeavour to secure the person of Gomanny Sihng, the Gracia chieftain, together with his vizier, and principal officers; as his subjects have lately committed the most insolent outrage and cruelty in the Honourable Company's districts intrusted to my care.

If you succeed in securing the Gracia rajah, or any of his family, you will please to send them under an escort to Dhuboy; there to give security for their future good behaviour, and to settle such other terms as may be necessary, to establish a permanent peace, previous to their enlargement. You will in the mean time, continue at Mandwa, with your detachment, until you receive further directions from me, or from the chief and council at Baroche.

Should you not be able to secure the person of Gomanny Sihng, you are to make yourself master of the town, and remain there until further orders. Notwithstanding the cruelty, insolence, and treachery of the Gracias towards our subjects, you will please to issue the strictest orders, that the inhabitants of Mandwa and its dependencies, are not, under any

pretence whatever, to be plundered or ill-treated; on the contrary, you are, on their submission, to assure them in the most unequivocal manner of the English protection.

Wishing you health and success,

I remain, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES FORBES,

*Dhuboy,  
9th October, 1782.*

*Collector of Dhuboy, &c.*

This expedition was kept a profound secret from the natives of Dhuboy, nor did the least suspicion of our intention reach the Gracia chief. The detachment marched out of the garrison at midnight, and reached Mandwa by break of day. So complete was the surprise, that when the guard opened the gates of the fortress to turn the cattle to pasture, and for the women to go out for water, the British troops rushed in, seized the guards, and obtained possession of the place with very little bloodshed. Gomanny Sihng, the Gracia chief, although a very old man, escaped by the vigilance and fidelity of his attendants, who on the first alarm carried him on his bed across the river, and conducted him to a stronghold, among the hills at some distance. Several ladies were taken prisoners in the zenana, with his wife and daughter, and sent to me as hostages. These princesses were at first very obstreperous, and occasioned much trouble before I could bring them to reason, or at all reconcile them to their situation. They menaced immediate self-destruction, if brought into my presence, or at all exposed to public

view; a threat which I was well assured they would put into execution, from the high idea generally entertained of such suicides. I therefore ordered a sepoy-guard, selected from such castes as I knew would be most agreeable; nor did I ever see them, or enter into that court of the durbar appropriated to their accommodation. And, as they did not eat animal food, a daily supply of rice, ghee, flower, spices, fruit, and vegetables, were sent in for the ladies and their attendants, who had been brought from Mandwa to Dhuboy in covered hackarees and palanquins.

During the time these Gracia princesses were detained as hostages at Dhuboy, I wrote letters to the surrounding chiefs; one of them will be a sufficient specimen of that kind of correspondence, and illustrate my peculiar situation among those extraordinary people.

*To Kessoor Khaun, Chief of the Vazeria Gracias.*

[After the oriental compliments]

During three years residence in a public character at Dhuboy, I have frequently remonstrated with you on the insults, cruelties, and depredations, committed by your subjects in the English districts. They have been hitherto without effect. Some months ago your vizier came before me, with an apology for your conduct, and a promise of amendment; expressing at the same time your sincere wish to live on friendly terms with this durbar. All was insincere. The Gracias of Vazeria have since renewed their depredations, plundered the villages, and committed murder.

You have thought proper, among many other me-

taphorical expressions, to write to me, that "a moscheto can torment an elephant:" in one sense I admit its truth; but remember, that although that noble animal bears much, when once roused to revenge nothing can withstand his fury; the beasts of the forest tremble at his presence, and flee before him. The British lion, when exasperated, is still more formidable; he is noble, generous, and forbearing, but there is a season, when the time of forbearance is past, and the hour of revenge is arrived! My whole conduct must have convinced you of the lenity of the British nation, and of my desire to live in amity with the different governments around me; but the Gracias are continually infringing on the good order of society, and the peace which ought to subsist between civilized states. Too long did I suffer your cruel depredations, from a reluctance to draw the sword of revenge. But the Mandwa Gracias having lately exceeded their former atrocities, by darting a spear into the side of a Brahmin, and treacherously murdering some of the Company's subjects, I was compelled to send an army against their chief, and take a capital which had for so many centuries been deemed impregnable. You are not ignorant of that capture, nor that the aged chieftain was with difficulty conveyed for safety to one of the distant hill-forts, while his wife and daughter, with several females from the zenana, were sent prisoners to Dhuboy, where they must remain as hostages until a general peace is concluded with the Gracias. They have a separate apartment in the durbar, where they shall be honourably treated; nor need they have formed the desperate resolution of destroying themselves, if brought into my

presence. The Gracia chieftains may be assured that I feel too much for their sex, their rank, and reverse of fortune, to add thereto any thing incompatible with their caste or religion. I neither desire to see them, nor to intrude any of my attendants into their apartments: their guards have been selected from the higher castes, and every proper attention paid them. They are detained as hostages, the more effectually to bring the Gracia government to proper terms; Gommanny Sihng has been informed, as you now are, that I am ready to receive your viziers and duans, and to accede to a liberal peace, on your producing respectable Bhauts as guarantees for its being fulfilled. So treacherously has every former stipulation been evaded, that I will accept of no other security for your future good behaviour than Ryjee Sihng, the principal Bhaut of Serulah, and any others with whom he may be willing to associate.

To you, I once more offer peace and friendship, before the same force that has conquered Mandwa, proceeds against Vazeria and Veloria. Send your vizier, or some other confidential minister to treat with me. Be assured his person shall be safe; and whatever may be the result of the negociation, he shall come in, and go out of this district under my protection: the English never act with duplicity, their word is sacred! Judge not of us by yourselves. You are a Mahomedan prince, and doubtless, conversant with the religion and morality of the Koran: consequently, from being more enlightened than the pagan Gracias, I have written to you as to a man of understanding. Reflect on the contents of this letter; consider that peace and war are before you, and make a wise choice! I conclude

in the words of your own epistle “What can I say more?”

JAMES FORBES.

*Dhuboy, or Sookiabad,  
8th of the month Sheval, Hejira 1194.  
A.D. 15th October 1782.*

During the campaign in Guzerat I particularly mentioned the Bhauts at Neriad, and the value of a security executed by one of that extraordinary tribe; the failure of an agreement which they guarantee can only be expiated by the shedding of human blood. This was my reason for insisting upon this sacred ceremony, in all my engagements and treaties with the Gracias.

It was customary among the ancients to confirm their agreements by drinking human blood, in which they sometimes mingled wine. His blood shall be upon his head, is a common expression in Scripture, as also in other ancient writers. It was customary among the Romans to wash their hands, in token of innocence, and purity from blood. Pilate, the Roman governor, at the condemnation of our Saviour, washed his hands, and said, “I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it!” Matt. ch. xxvii. ver. 24. A speech, which occasioned the memorable imprecation from the infatuated Jews, “His blood be upon us, and our children!” Matt. ch. xxvii. ver. 25. An imprecation which has been awfully accomplished; exhibiting, for near two thousand years, a standing miracle in proof of the Christian religion, in its dreadful consequences on this mistaken people.

Ryjee Sihng, the Bhaut whom I generally selected on these occasions, was of a respectable family in the Zinore purgunna, particularly celebrated as an historic

bard, or minstrel. In that part of his professional character, the Gracia chiefs took very little concern, it being to them a matter of indifference, whether he chaunted their praises, or published their crimes, so as he did not rigidly exact the performance of a deed where money was the object. With them, as with many superior potentates in Hindostan, avarice superseded honour. The characters of princes and historical traditions are committed to the Bhauts, in the same manner as was practised among the bards and oral historians of Greece. Homer was of this tribe; and the same custom prevailed in Judea. In the Chronicles of the kings of Judah, long after the death of Josiah, it is said that all the singing-men and singing-women spake of that excellent monarch, in their lamentations, unto that day.—2 Chronicles, ch. xxxv. ver. 25.

I wished to be guided by justice, moderation, and clemency, in my dealings with the Gracias: but those virtues were of little avail with that unprincipled race. The best, and most efficacious mode of negotiating with the generality of Indian princes, was by a similar message to that from Benhadad king of Syria, to the Israelitish monarch, then besieged by him in Samaria. He sent messengers to Ahab, saying, "thy silver and thy gold is mine; thy wives also and thy children, even the goodliest, are mine. I will send my servants unto thee to-morrow about this time; and they shall search thine house, and the houses of thy servants; and it shall be, that whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put it in their hand, and take it away!"—1 Kings, ch. xx. ver. 3, 6.



Equally insolent were the messages of the Gracia chiefs to me, both verbally and in writing. Their insolence in prosperity was only equalled by their meanness in adversity. Many of the letters and messages from their princes, especially those from Gomanny Sihng, delivered at the gates of Dhuboy, were not only in spirit, but in words, replete with expressions of impregnable rocks, swelling rivers, birds of omen soaring aloft, and a variety of figurative language exactly resembling that on ancient record.

After the conquest of Mandwa, and tedious negotiations with the Gracia chieftains of Vazeria and Veloria, they reluctantly entered into the Bhaut security, finding no other terms would be admitted, and finally acceded to my demands. They engaged Ryjee Sihng, the head Bhaut of Scrulab, and several others of the most respectable families, to become guarantees for their performance of the treaties entered into with their respective chiefs. The articles of peace and friendship between them and the East India Company, were duly ratified in the Dhuboy durbar, and there guaranteed by the Bhauts, who signed their names, and instead of affixing a seal, drew the figure of a *cattara*, or dagger, their instrument of death, opposite to each name. The female hostages were then dismissed, tranquillity was perfectly restored, and not a Gracia was to be seen within the Company's districts. So that at the conclusion of my third year of government, I had the satisfaction of beholding all the purgunnas intrusted to my management, well cultivated, populous, and happy.

Bart, baut, batt, as it is differently pronounced, is a

curious approximation to the name of the western bard, and their offices are nearly similar. There is hardly a great man throughout Hindostan who hath not some of these tribes in his service.

The transactions with the Gracias brought me more immediately acquainted with the Hindoo seers, astrologers, and prophets, of Guzerat. During my residence at Dhuboy I had frequent occasions of slight intercourse with these extraordinary people; who had pretended to foretel my periods of happiness, and warn me of impending dangers. But I found their predictions were not infallible. These astrologers were consulted by the Gracia chieftains on the first rumour of the expedition against Mandwa, and flattered their vanity by assuring them that their fortress was impregnable, that the English arms would not prevail, and that the Gracias might set our threat at defiance. Oriental sovereigns of far more importance, attend to their divinations on the events of war or the terms of peace. They are sent for, as was the seer of Aram by the king of Moab, when the armies of Israel approached his territories, to curse a people that were too mighty for him. Balaam was not a prophet of Israel, but one of the oriental seers who were then consulted on important occasions, and were sometimes permitted to utter solemn truths, and extend their prophecies to distant periods. We are expressly told the source of Balaam's inspiration on this occasion. His parables not only foretold the success of the Jewish army, but in the sublimest strains, predicted the coming of the Messiah!

The astrologers and magicians at Rome at length

fell into such disrepute, that, according to Tacitus, the whole tribe was banished from Italy, by a decree of the Senate. Two of them were put to death; one was thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and the other executed, at the sound of a trumpet, on the outside of the Esquiline gate. The magicians of Chaldea, and the professors of judicial astrology, wishing to be deemed men of real science, called themselves mathematicians, a name which frequently occurs in the *Annals of Tacitus*.

Many augurs and soothsayers in India, though not of any particular caste or tribe, are I believe set apart and educated for the purpose in the seminaries of the Brahmins. We frequently read of the schools of the prophets among the Jews; although, probably, few of the pupils were afterwards dignified with that sacred title, or endowed with any supernatural gift. I am led to imagine that in many Hindoo seminaries, instead of encouraging mental and moral improvement, in those liberal and solid acquirements which expand the ideas and dignify human nature, the pupils are instructed in astrology, geomancy, cabalistical knowledge, and similar attainments, which tend to weaken and degrade the rational character. Unlike the great and wise Akber, who instituted public schools throughout his extensive empire, where, after the boys had been taught the letters of the Persian alphabet, and the first rudiments of science, they were then instructed in morality, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, agriculture, æconomics, physick, logic, natural philosophy, abstract mathematics, divinity, history, and the art of government. In the Hindoo schools every one was

educated according to his circumstances, or particular views in life ; a plan which might be wisely adopted in many civilized countries of Europe. From those regulations, the schools of Hindostan obtained a new form ; and the colleges became the lights and ornaments of the empire.

I have omitted geomancy among the sciences taught in the schools of Akber, as undeserving a place in his liberal plan of education ; but, distinct from the diviners and soothsayers lately mentioned, there are in Ahmedabad, Baroche, Dhuboy, and most cities in India, a class of females, skilled in astrology, geomancy, and fortune-telling ; these women were well known among the Greeks and Romans ; and in our translations from the Hebrew they are called wise-women, which exactly answers to their appellation amongst the modern Indians. They are frequently introduced by the ancient poets under the denomination of enchanters, diviners, and charmers. Their power was supposed to be very great ; and they used various devices to accomplish their purpose. Ovid introduces one who had power over all the elements ; and another, mentioned by Theocritus as consulted by a love-sick swain, exactly corresponds with a circumstance which came immediately within my own knowledge.

Wise ladies of this description are now consulted by young people in India, on the same subject ; especially on the jealousy, revenge, and other passions prevalent in an Asiatic zenana. I could recite many modern anecdotes similar to those in Persian and Arabian tales, but will confine myself to that above alluded to.

A young gentleman, when collector in one of the Company's districts in Guzerat, separated from all European society, formed a temporary connection with an amiable Hindoo girl; for this step no justification is offered, though the most rigidly virtuous would, perhaps, make some allowance for influence of climate and custom, a total seclusion from European refinement and elegant society, and the impossibility, thus situated, of forming an honourable union with one of his fair countrywomen. In a Christian country, where every man may wed the object of his affections, and where individual example influences the circle in which he moves, a deviation from moral rectitude admits not of this extenuation; but when seduction or adultery aggravate the crime, the evil strikes deep at moral and religious principle, and destroys domestic comfort.

The example of this young Englishman could have little effect among a people who neither professed the religion, nor practised the manners of Europe. His attachment to Zeida was constant, delicate, and sincere; he never saw her at her own house, and she entered the durbar by a private door in the garden. Three years had passed in this manner, when one evening the lovely girl, her eyes suffused in tears, informed her protector that knowing he would shortly return to Europe, a cavalry officer of a good family in her own caste, had offered to marry her; a proposal she never would have listened to, had he remained in India; but under the idea of losing him, she requested his counsel on a scheme so important to her happiness. Her friend, delighted with this honourable

establishment, readily consented, and the marriage took place. Zeida lived with her husband in a remote part of the city; from prudential reasons all former intercourse ceased; and from the different modes of life between Europeans and Asiatics, nothing was heard of Zeida for many months.

In the warm nights preceding the rainy season, the youth generally slept upon a sofa, placed under a gauze musquito-curtain, on the flat roof of the durbar; to which there was one ascent from the interior, and another by an outer flight of steps from the garden. While reposing there on one of those delightful moonlight nights known only between the tropics, and apparently in a dream, he thought something gently pressed his heart, and caused a peculiar glow, accompanied by a spicy odour, which impregnated the atmosphere; under this sensation he awoke, and beheld a female reclining over him in a graceful attitude. Her personal charms, costly jewels, and elegant attire were discernable through a transparent veil, a double fold artfully falling over the upper part concealed her features. Her left hand contained a box of perfumed ointment, with which her right was softly anointing his bosom, nearest the region of the heart. Doubtful whether the scene was real, or the effect of a warm imagination, he remained for some moments lost in astonishment; when the lovely stranger, throwing aside her veil, discovered Zeida, decked with every charm that youth and beauty could assume on such an interesting visit.

When his surprise subsided, Zeida informed him the marriage had turned out unfortunate; in hopes

of happier days she had hitherto forbore to trouble him with complaints; but seeing no amendment she seized the opportunity of her husband's absence to repair to the durbar, in hopes of regaining that affection which had formerly constituted her happiness. Fearful of a cool reception, she had previously consulted the most celebrated cunning-woman in the city; who prepared a box of ointment, which she was to apply by stealth, as near as possible to the heart of the object beloved; and, if so far successful, she might be assured of accomplishing her wishes. Zeida knew not the character of her friend; he resisted the tear of beauty, and the eloquence of love; and having convinced her of the difference between their former attachment, and the crime of adultery, persuaded her to return home before the approaching dawn discovered the impropriety of her visit.

Poor Zeida felt that life without love is of little value, as poignantly as Khosroo, Hafiz, or any of the Persian poets. The sentiments, so much extolled in the *Fusef Zelekha* of Jami, only express those, which, in unstudied language, flowed from the lips of Zeida at this affecting interview.

“ Enrapt Zelekha, all her soul on fire,  
Flew from her home, t’accomplish her desire;

The raven night now slowly wings its way,  
The bird of morning hails the new-born day.

Th’ enchanting warblers sing in rival pride,  
The blooming rose-buds throw their veils aside:

The virgin jasmine bathes her face in dew,  
The violet scents her locks of azure hue;

But sad Zelekha knows no pleasing rest,  
While hopes and fears possess her anxious breast :

Her powers of reason wild despair disarms,  
Prompting to scatter all her roseate charms :

Smiling, to all she wears the face of joy,  
A thousand flames her burning breast destroy.

Night, more than day, desiring lovers hail,  
For that withdraws, but this bestows the veil.

Conceal'd by night, she gives her griefs to flow,  
And seeks in solitude relief from woe.

In youth's gay garden, like a flower she rose,  
Pure and unruffled, as life's water flows :

Giv'n to the winds, away her peace is flown ;  
Upon her bed unnumber'd thorns are strown."

Respecting the virtues of the ointment prepared by the experienced matron, such charms are generally credited in India: many allusions to them are found in oriental stories; the "ointment poured forth," and similar expressions in Solomon's Song, have probably the same tendency. The ancient poets abound with philtres, charms, and medicaments, to excite the tender passion. Unguents, bones of snakes, blood of doves, and a variety of potions are mentioned by the Greek and Roman writers; especially the Arcadian plant called *hippomanes*. Many appropriate passages might be quoted from Homer, Virgil, and Propertius. One from Horace, where Canidia seems to have been placed in a similar situation with Zeida, will suffice:—



Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis  
 Radix fefellit me locis.  
*Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus*  
*Oblivione pellicum.*  
 Ah, ah, solutus ambulat veneficæ  
 Scientioris carmine.

Then what am I? There's not an herb doth grow,  
 Nor root, but I their virtues know,  
 And can the craggy places shew;  
 Yet Varus slights my love, above my pow'r,  
 And sleeps on rosy beds secure;  
 Ah! much I fear some rival's greater skill  
 Defends him from my weaker spell.

It would be endless to repeat the variety of instances relating to these spells and incantations, which were continually brought before the courts of adawlet in Baroche and Dhuby, where they could neither be refuted nor counteracted. Those brought to light in the public court were generally more intended for destruction by poison, than for the creation or revival of the tender passion. To effect the latter many virtues are attributed to the mendey, or al'hinna, a fragrant and elegant shrub in the oriental gardens, already mentioned. The other spells were composed of less innocent materials, and appropriated to more iniquitous purposes. With the exception of human ingredients, they bore a very near resemblance to the singular anecdote recorded by Tacitus, and confirmed by Dio Cassius, respecting the death of Germanicus, who was supposed to have been poisoned at Antioch, by the secret orders of Piso, by means of Martina, a celebrated female practitioner in these arts. "Under the floor, and in the cavities of the walls, a collection of human bones was found, with charms, and magic

verses, and incantations. The name of Germanicus was graved on plates of lead; fragments of human bodies, not quite consumed to ashes, were discovered in a putrid condition, with a variety of those magic spells, which, according to the vulgar opinion, are of potency to devote the souls of the living to the infernal gods."

## CHAPTER X.

Excursion through the English Purgunnas in Guzerat—Bats of enormous Size—Serpents—Cure of their venomous Bite by Lullabhy—Character of Lullabhy—Vanjarrahs—Life of the Palanquin-bearers—Anecdote of a young Hindoo Mother—Country near Zinore—Pass of Bowa-Feer—Arrival at Dhuboy—Mountain of Powaghur—Brodera—Debauched Character of Indian Princes—Mahomedan Women—Mosques and Sepulchres—Funeral Ceremonies—Grand Wells—Beauty of the Brodera Purgunna—Valuable Produce of the District—Oppressions of Government—Character of Futy Sihng—Magnificent Wedding of Vazeer Ally—Anecdote of Hyder Ally—Letter from the Mharatta Peshwa to George the Third—Happy Consequences to be expected from the Power and Influence of the British Government in India—Music of the Hindoos—Ceremonies at a Hindoo Wedding—Encampment near Brodera—Injustice of the System and general Character of the Hindoos—Meah Gaum Rajah—Death and Character of Hiroo Nand—Sacrifice of his Widow—Mahomedan Women—Serpents—Serpent-eaters—Locusts—Distillers—Potters—Floods—Average of Annual Rain.

IN the month of January, 1783, I accompanied the chief of Baroche, then lately arrived from Bombay, on a tour through all the purgunnas under his jurisdiction, as collector-general. We formed a social party of five English gentlemen, with proper officers and attendants; it being necessary for those who fill high stations in

India to preserve a respectable appearance in the eyes of the natives. We spent three weeks in this delightful tour, although the distance did not exceed two hundred miles. December, January, and February, are the best months for travelling in Guzerat; the mornings and evenings are cold, and the whole day temperate and pleasant. The thermometer at sun-rise is frequently under  $60^{\circ}$ , sometimes considerably lower, and at noon, until the warmest time of the day, seldom exceeds  $70^{\circ}$ ; during the hot winds in the succeeding months, although the mornings may be tolerably cool, the thermometer gradually rises from  $70$  to  $100^{\circ}$ .

On leaving Baroché and its extensive suburbs, we travelled twelve miles near the banks of the Nerbudda, to our first encampment, under Cubbeer-Burr, (*ficus Indica*) one of the most magnificent banian-trees in India, which I have so often mentioned, as forming a canopy of verdant foliage impenetrable to a tropical sun, extending over a circumference of two thousand feet.

The birds, monkeys, and serpents abounding in Cubbeer-Burr are well known. The enormous bats which darken its branches frequently exceed six feet in length from the tip of each wing; and from their resemblance to that animal, are not improperly called flying-foxes. Bats of this magnitude are a kind of monster extremely disagreeable both in smell and appearance. They must have been the harpies mentioned by Virgil :

“ When from the mountain-tops with hideous cry,  
And clattering wings the hungry harpies fly;  
They snatch the meat, defiling all they find;  
And parting, leave a loathsome stench behind.”

These large bats, like the rest of their species, suspend themselves by the claw or hook on the wings, with their heads downwards, when they repose or cat, in which posture they hang by thousands in the shades of Cubbeer-Burr. Archdeacon Paley remarks, that "the hook in the wing of a bat is strictly a mechanical, and also a compensating contrivance. At the angle of its wing there is a bent claw, exactly in the form of a hook, by which the bat attaches itself to the sides of rocks, caves, and buildings, laying hold of crevices, joinings, chinks, and roughnesses. It hooks itself by this claw, remains suspended by this hold, takes its flight from this position, which operations compensate for the decrepitude of its legs and feet. Without her hook, the bat would be the most helpless of all animals. She can neither run upon her feet, nor raise herself from the ground ; these inabilities are made up to her by the contrivance in her wing ; and in placing a claw in that part, the Creator has deviated from the analogy observed on winged animals. A singular defect required a singular substitute."

As some of the monkey tribe seem to unite the brute to the human species, in the great chain of creation, so the bat forms the link between birds and beasts. Naturalists have disputed to which class they belong. Pliny and the ancients place them among the feathered race ; the moderns, with greater propriety, arrange them with quadrupeds. Like a bird they have wings, and the power of flying ; unlike the oviparous tribes, they bring forth their young alive, and suckle them ; the mouth is furnished with very sharp teeth, and shaped like that of a fox.

The most disagreeable inhabitants of this verdant caravansary are snakes, which in great variety dwell among the branches ; some malignant, others innocuous. The monkeys destroy a number of these reptiles ; sufficient still remain to cause anxiety in a sojourner before his slumbering siesta, or nightly repose ; yet it is extraordinary how few accidents happen from venomous creatures in India, where the natives in travelling are accustomed only to spread a mat, or cotton carpet, on the hearth when they sleep. I have occasionally mentioned circumstances irreconcilable to Europeans, constantly occurring among the Hindoos. I insert another anecdote respecting the bite of a serpent, and the consequences which took place at Baroche the year before I made this excursion ; I shall only affirm that my relation is an unembellished matter of fact, from which I do not pretend to draw any conclusion.

At Baroche I was intimate with a Banian named Lullabhy, the richest man in the city, and of great influence in the purgunna. He was universally believed to possess the power of curing the bite of venomous serpents, by a knowledge peculiar to himself, which he never imparted to another. By this art he certainly recovered many natives from a desperate state, after being wounded by the cobra-di-capello, and the scarlet snake of Cubbeer-Burr, without touching the patient or prescribing any thing inwardly. The talent of Lullabhy seemed to have no affinity with that of the ancient Psylli, or the modern snake-charmers, but probably was not unlike the science professed by Mesmer or Dr. de Mainoduc ; be that as it may, his fame for effecting these cures was every where established.

Mr. Perrott, then second in council, and some other of the civil servants at Baroche, were satisfied with a cure of which they had been frequent witnesses.

Of all the Europeans I was acquainted with in India, Mr. Robert Gambier, at that time chief of Baroche, was perhaps the most incredulous respecting talismans, charms, divinations, and preternatural pretensions of the Brahmins. His opinion of Lullabhy's talent was publicly known ; a circumstance in his own garden now afforded a fair opportunity of detecting its fallacy. One of the under-gardeners working between the pavilions was bitten by a cobra-di-capello, and pronounced to be in danger. Mr. Gambier was then holding a council in an upper pavilion, and, at the desire of Mr. Perrott, immediately sent for Lullabhy, without informing him of the accident, of which he remained ignorant until ushered into the chief's presence. The gardener was lying on a slight bed of coir-rope, in a veranda adjoining the council-room. Being asked if he could effect a cure, Lullabhy modestly replied, that by God's blessing he trusted he should succeed. The poor wretch was at this time in great agony, and delirious ; he afterwards became torpid and speechless ; still Lullabhy was not permitted to commence his operation. The members of council anxiously waited the chief's permission, especially when Lullabhy asserted that any further loss of time would render it too late. Mr. Gambier examined the man's pulse by a stop-watch, and when convinced his dissolution was inevitably approaching, he allowed Lullabhy to exert his influence. After a short silent prayer, Lullabhy, in presence of all the company, waved his catarra, or short dagger, over the bed of the expiring man, with-

out touching him. The patient continued for some time motionless ; in half an hour his heart appeared to beat, circulation quickened ; within the hour he moved his limbs and recovered his senses. At the expiration of the third hour Lullabhy had effected the cure. The man was sent home to his family, and in a few days recovered from the weakness occasioned by convulsive paroxysms, which probably would neither have been so severe or of such long continuance, had the counteracting power been sooner applied.

Lullabhy was not only one of the most opulent men in Guzerat, but the principal zemindar of Baroche. He was extremely charitable, and daily appropriated a considerable sum of money to alms-giving and relieving persons in distress ; no mendicant was dismissed from his gate without a measure of rice, or a mess of vegetable pottage mingled with meal. In time of dearth he distributed grain throughout the villages in the Baroche district ; nor was his bounty confined to those of the Hindoo religion. He repaired public tanks and choultries for travellers, dug several common wells, and constructed a bowree, or large well, in the Baroche suburbs, with steps leading down to the water, all of hewn stone, in a very handsome style of architecture. A marble tablet placed over the fountain of this noble reservoir, contains a short inscription more expressive and beautiful in the Persian language than can be given in an English translation :

“ The bounties of Lullabhy are ever flowing.”

About this time Lullabhy celebrated a splendid wedding for his son, a boy under five years of age, and



soon after married his only daughter, a year younger than her brother, to a child of a suitable age, in a respectable family of the same caste. The feasts and entertainments to his friends and acquaintance of all descriptions continued many days, parading every night by torch-light, through the principal streets of the city, with state horses, palanquins, musicians, dancing-girls, and every display of eastern magnificence, in which the infant brides and bridegrooms, covered with jewels and wreaths of flowers, made a splendid appearance; the former in palanquins, the latter on led horses. These nocturnal processions, illuminated by many hundred massauls, or torches, illustrate the parable of the ten virgins, as each torch-bearer carries a lighted flambeau in one hand, and a brass vessel containing oil to feed the flame in the other. Lullabhy's presents on this occasion were extensive and valuable, considerably exceeding a lac of rupees, upwards of twelve thousand pounds sterling.

Not long after, Lullabhy's daughter died; being a man of such high respectability, all those who had partaken of his festivity now sent messages of condolence. I paid him that mark of attention, not merely as a ceremony, but because I felt sincerely for his loss. The religious rites and family customs on the death of relations are piously and strictly attended to by all castes of Hindoos. When the days of mourning were accomplished, I was surprised by a much earlier visit from Lullabhy than I expected. On alighting from his hackarree I received him as a person under affliction, and cautiously avoided saying any thing to awaken his parental feelings. He led to the subject himself, and, with a smile of resignation if not of

cheerfulness, told me, that as it was the will of God to deprive him of his child, he had the greatest consolation which a father could enjoy on such an event, that of seeing her previously married ; had the nuptial rite not taken place, her death would indeed have plunged him into deep affliction.

From Cubbeer-Burr we continued our route for ten miles along the banks of the Nerbudda to Corall, a small town, which gives its name to an inconsiderable district, then belonging to the company, producing a revenue of forty thousand rupees. This little capital, situated on the bank of the river, contains some tolerable houses, a few Hindoo temples, and a gurry, or fortress, of no great strength. Some of the villages are large and populous, the country generally well cultivated, producing abundant crops, similar to those described in the Dhuboy districts.

Our next stage was only nine miles from Corall, to the fortress of Ranghur, which I have already mentioned, where I had a delightful summer apartment overlooking the rural plains and woody hills on the south side of the river. We passed a few villages belonging to the Broderah purgunna, and on approaching Ranghur entered an extensive plain covered with baubul trees. This spot forming a part of my district under Dhuboy, I was well supplied with venison and other game. A little powder and ball procured me an antelope, and for a rupee I could at any time purchase a deer, with two or three pea-fowl. For the more certain destruction of antelopes and deer in that country, the sportsman covers himself with a moveable arbour of green boughs ; which effectually concealing him

from the unsuspecting animals, they become an easy prey. The peacocks, doves, and green pigeons, found near the Guzerat villages, are nearly as tame as poultry in a farm-yard.

It is unnecessary to particularise different stages and encampments on this tour : we travelled with two sets of tents and servants ; by which means, without a deprivation of comfort at one station, we found every necessary prepared for us on arriving at the next. Throughout this excursion we generally met with mango, tamarind, or banian-trees, on the banks of rivers, the margin of a lake, or near a public well. Hay, fire-wood, milk, butter, and lamp oil, are supplied gratis to most travellers, according to the custom of Guzerat ; and in that respect we found very little difference whether travelling in the English purgunnas, or the dominions of a foreign prince.

Reposing under contiguous trees, we generally saw the yogees, gosannces, Mahomedan dervises, and other religious mendicants, who travel over Hindostan ; and often met with large caravans of banjarrees, or vanjarrahs, a set of merchants who do not belong to any particular country, but live in tents, and unite together for mutual comfort and safety, in the transportation of their merchandise. Each corps is governed by its own laws and regulations. These people travel from interior towns to the sea coast, with caravans of oxen, sometimes consisting of several thousand, laden with corn, oil, and manufactured goods of cotton and silk. They return with raw cotton, spices, woollen cloths, iron, copper, and other articles imported from Europe, and distant parts of Asia : the greatest num-

ber are laden with salt, which finds a ready sale in every habitable spot, from the sea to the summit of the Ghaut-mountains.

The vanjarrahs from distant countries seldom make more than one annual journey to commute their merchandize at the sea-ports ; travelling with their wives and children in the patriarchal style, they seem a happy set of people, particularly at their meals. A hundred fires are often blazing together in their camp, where the women prepare curry, pilaw, or some savoury dish, to eat with the rice and dholl, which constitutes their principal food. Some of these merchants travel fifteen hundred or two thousand miles during the fair season ; and, as they make only one journey, they contrive to give it every possible advantage. For this purpose each bullock carries a double load, which they effect in this manner : moving on one stage with their loaded oxen, wives and children, they fix upon a shady spot, to unload the cattle ; leaving the family and merchandize under the care of a guard, they drive back the empty oxen for a second load ; which is brought forwards, and deposited in their tents. The cattle having rested, move on to the next station, with the first packages ; returning empty, they proceed again with the second load, and thus continue a trading journey throughout the whole fair season. The vanjarrahs are protected by all governments, pay the stated duties at the frontier passes, and are never molested. For further security, they are generally accompanied by a bhaut, an old woman of that description is a sufficient protection for a whole caravan. The vanjarrahs are likewise followed by conjurors, astrologers, jugglers, musicians, dancing-bears, dancing-snakes, monkeys,

and various entertainments ; they gain a livelihood by what they receive in the camp, or pick up in the towns and villages through which they pass.

The palanquin-bearers in India, as I have before observed, are also a happy people. I had the same set in Guzerat for many years. During a long journey, which they generally contrive to pass very cheerfully, on reaching their station in the evening, whether under a tree, a choultrie, or a shed, one immediately lights a fire, and cleans the cooking utensils ; another prepares the supper ; the rest champoe each other, or lie down to repose. A travelling set of bearers never consists of fewer than eight ; sometimes more ; and in our party, where each gentleman had his own set of bearers, they made a considerable number. To prevent their falling asleep before the rice and curry is ready, the wittiest man in the company commences a story, similar to those in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, which always gains attention and affords amusement. These in a humble degree resemble the professed story-tellers who form part of the establishment in an oriental court.

Between Ranghur and Zinore, I stopped with one of our party under a banian-tree, near a tank, to refresh the bearers : a young and graceful Hindoo woman passed us in her way to a temple on the opposite side of the lake. Concluding she had gone thither on some religious visit, we took no further notice ; but in less than half an hour she returned, carrying a bundle on her arm with such anxious care as arrested our attention. Having nothing of the kind when she first passed us, we inquired after the contents : smiling at the question, and removing the drapery, she shewed

us a fine infant, of which she had just delivered herself at the water-side, its birth having unexpectedly happened while walking to her own village at no great distance, whither she then proceeded. The whole transaction was begun and finished within the space of half an hour.

The book of Exodus implies something of this kind in a comparison between the Hebrew and the Egyptian women. Lady Wortley Montague makes similar observations on the Turkish, and Brydone on the Sicilian females. But I should not have ventured to relate the Guzerat anecdote, had not Dr. Fryer, a professional man, made a similar remark. He says, "The *Gentoo* women, at their labours, seldom call midwives: it is a profession only in esteem among the rich and lazy; the poorer, while they are labouring or planting, go aside, deliver themselves, wash the child, and return to work again."

Had this woman belonged to any of the unnatural tribes of Guzerat, who practise female infanticide; or had she been a young widow devoted to celibacy, whom the birth of a child would have doomed to infamy and loss of caste; she might here have disposed of it as she thought proper, without any human witness of the transaction, and subject to no punishment but the remorse of her own conscience: fortunately, she was the wife of a peasant, and became the happy mother of a fine infant.

The distance from Ranghur to Zinore is about eleven miles, through a populous, well-cultivated country, at that time under my care. Soon after leaving Ranghur we came to the celebrated pass at Bowa-peer, where

the Mahratta armies ford the Nerbudda, when rushing down from the Deccan mountains on these lovely plains, like a people of old, fierce and strong, with a fire devouring before them, and behind them a flame burning ; the land was like the garden of Eden before them, behind them a desolate wilderness ; and from them nothing should escape. Such a country to be so frequently subject to the cruel depredations I twice witnessed within six years, is truly painful. The tract round the imperial city of Ahmedabad, and all that extensive champaign watered by the Mihi and Sabermatty, is a perfect garden ; its flat surface forming a variety from the inequalities of landscape round Zinore. Hindostan, though not destitute of poets and historians, cannot be styled classic ground ; but had Homer, Virgil, or Horace visited this " Paradise of Nations," they would have caused it to vie with Greece and Italy. An oriental Baia and Umbria would have courted their Muse ; and the vale of Tempe would not have remained unrivalled. The gardens of Alcinous, and the stream of Tiber and Clitumnus bear away the palm of antiquity ; in every other respect the royal retreats at Ahmedabad, and the noble rivers of Guzerat, far surpass them.

From Zinore we proceeded ten miles to Chandode, and on leaving Chandode, we reluctantly quitted the beauties of the Nerbudda, on whose banks we had hitherto chiefly travelled. A stage of ten miles from the sacred groves and seminaries of Chandode, brought us to Dhuboy, where I had the pleasure of entertaining my friends a few days in the durbar ; from whence we made excursions to Bhaderpoor, and

other places within my jurisdiction. It was gratifying to observe how much the population, industry, and commerce of the Company's districts were improved by the security, protection, and encouragement of the English government; the standard of England had then been flying three years on the Gate of Diamonds at Dhuby; when that flag was first displayed, the surrounding country exhibited a scene of poverty, wretchedness, and despair, in villages destroyed and burnt by contending armies, cattle killed or driven away, peasants emigrated, or compelled to join the plundering hosts like beasts of burden. This dreadful system had been so frequently repeated, that when I took charge of the Dhuby purgunnas, no language can describe their deplorable state; and a few months afterwards, when surrounded by the Mahratta army, I have from the ramparts beheld upwards of twenty villages in flames at the same time.

From Dhuby we proceeded to Brodera, a city twenty miles to the north-west. About mid-way we crossed the river Dahder, then almost dry. The country was fertile and well cultivated, but presented neither hills nor uplands, to form the variety we had been accustomed to near the Nerbudda. There is indeed one exception on the right of this extensive plain, where the mountain of Powaghur rears its majestic head, and gives an unusual grandeur to the landscape; it appears to stand entirely unconnected, with a steep, bold, and rocky ascent on all sides, but on a nearer approach was observed to be connected with a range of hills, and much picturesque scenery. The water at Powaghur, and many mountainous tracts in Hindostan, is attended with deleterious effects, fre-



quently causing incurable sickness, and the premature death of strangers. This extraordinary mountain appears considerably higher than the Tableland at the Cape of Good Hope; but resembles it in other respects. On the summit is a strong fortress, belonging to Mhadajec Scindia, a Mahratta chieftain, difficult of access, and deemed impregnable.

Brodera, the capital of the Guicawar domain in Guzerat, is situated in the latitude of  $22^{\circ} 15' 30''$  N. and  $73^{\circ} 11'$  E. longitude. It then belonged to Futtý Sihng, head of the Guicawars, but had been formerly in the possession of the Moguls, to whom it is indebted for all its grandeur; the Mahrattas having neither taste nor desire of improvement. The fortifications, like most others in this part of India, consist of slight walls, with towers at irregular distances, and several double gates. The town is intersected by two spacious streets, dividing it into four equal parts; meeting in the centre at a market-place, containing a square pavilion, with three bold arches on each side, and a flat roof, adorned with seats and fountains. This is a Mogul building, as is every thing else that has the smallest claim to grandeur or elegance. The Mahratta structures are mean and shabby, none more so than the durbar, then lately finished by Futtý Sihng; which resembles most modern Hindoo palaces, in the want of taste and proportion in architecture, and elegance in the interior decoration. Many Indian princes, Hindoos and Mahomedans, as also the wealthy nobles, have a favourite upper chamber, with walls and ceilings covered with mirrors of every size and shape; in the centre is a sofa, or a swinging bed, suspended from the roof, adorned with wreathes of mogreeds, and

cooled with rose-water. Here the voluptuous Indian retires to smoke his hookah, or waste his time with a favourite from the haram. This apartment is sometimes decorated with indelicate paintings, in a wretched style, suited to their depraved appetites : the orientals in high life are generally men of debauched morals and vitiated taste, who have no idea of the pure and tender passion of love :

“ Nought do they know of those sweet graceful acts,  
Those thousand decencies, that daily flow  
From female words and actions ; mixt with love,  
And sweet compliance.”

In eastern harems the heart has little share in the tender passion. Asiatic love, devoid of sentiment, means only sensuality ; its elegant refinements and chaste endearments are unknown. From the confined education and retired habits of female life in India, the women have no idea of intellectual enjoyment ; their ordinary pursuits are trifling, their amusements childish. To have children, fine clothes, and abundance of ornaments, seem to be the grand objects of their wishes.

The Hindoo women are fond of frequenting their temples, and performing the enjoined sacrifices : the Mahomedan females seldom attend public worship ; this by no means implies that they do not pray at home : nor does the Koran, as many imagine, inculcate the doctrine that women have no souls ; neither does it, as alleged, deem them incapable of enjoying a situation in the voluptuous paradise of the Arabian prophet. On the contrary, there are many passages in the

Koran, which give then an equal title to that happiness, as the other sex : these are explicit. “ Whosoever doeth good, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, shall be admitted into Paradise. On a certain day, thou shalt see the true believers, of both sexes ; their light shall run before them, and on their right hands ; and it shall be said unto them, good tidings unto you this day ; gardens through which rivers flow, ye shall remain therein for ever.”

The remains of Mahomedan mosques and splendid tombs, embosomed in the Brodera groves, add a sombre beauty to the scenery near the capital. They contain many superb mausoleums to the memory of wealthy Moguls, and humbler tombs, or graves of turf, for the inferior classes. In these cemeteries are displayed the amiable propensities of the female character : to these consecrated spots the Mahomedan matrons repair, at stated anniversaries, “ with fairest flowers to sweeten the sad grave.” The grand tombs are often splendidly illuminated ; but the meanest heap of turf has its visitors to chant a requiem, light a little lamp, suspend a garland, or strew a rose, as an affectionate tribute to departed love, or separated friendship.

The funeral ceremonies of the Mahomedans in Guzerat, and other parts of India, resemble those in Turkey, Persia, and Arabia. Widows and matrons, like the ancient *Præficæ*, are hired to weep and wail, and beat upon their breast with loud lamentations.

Στηθος δε πλῆξας, κραδίην ηνιπαπε μυθω. HOM. ODYS.

“ Smiting upon his breast, he began to chide his heart.”

This was practised, not only amongst the Greeks, but adopted by the Jews and many other nations. The howling and lamentation, on such occasions, by the vociferous females in the suburbs of Baroche, frequently reached to Vezelpoor, and disturbed the tranquillity of our retreat. It is to these noisy exclamations, rather than to the dignified and affecting effusions of silent sorrow, to which Lucan alludes. "With hair dishevelled, and smitten breast, 'twas thus she spoke her grief."

"Effusas laniata comas, concussaque pectus  
Verberibus crebris.———sic mœsta profatur."

Natural affection must be nearly the same in all climates and countries ; but the numerous and prolonged ceremonies required on the death of a Hindoo, seem in some measure to supersede and alleviate the sorrow, which might otherwise take root in the conjugal, filial, or parental breast. It appears, from a passage in the prophet Amos, that this sort of mourning and lamentation was a kind of art among the Jews : "Wailing shall be in all streets ; and they shall call such as are skilful of lamentation to wailing."—Amos, ch. v. ver. 16.

Many Mahomedans reside in the smaller towns and villages of Guzerat : they engage but little in agriculture or manufactures, leaving the operations of the loom and the toil of husbandry to the more patient and laborious Hindoos : commerce and war form the principal pursuits of the Mussulmans.

In the environs of Brodera are some very expensive bowrees, or wells, with grand flights of steps descending to the water, through rows of stone pillars and

pilasters. The largest of the Brodera wells is a magnificent work, with the following inscription over the portal, in the Persian character ; of which *I* insert the translation, as a specimen of such dedications :

“ IN THE NAME OF ALLA !

THE GOD OF MERCY AND BENEFICENCE !

GOD IS ONE !

AND THE GOD WHO SENT MAHOMET INTO THE WORLD.

“ Jaffier Khan Ben Vazalmool, viceroy of Guzerat, was great, successful, and mighty in battle. Brodera was under his command ; he was an officer high in rank above all officers, and dignified, by the king his master, with the most honourable titles. By his favour, Soliman his chief minister was appointed governor of Brodera ; where, by the blessing of Alla, he accumulated great riches, and employed them in works of charity and beneficence. By him, this work of beauty, strength, and admiration, was, by the Divine permission, completed on the first day of the month Razez, in the 807th year of the Hejira.”

The water of Soliman's well is reckoned extremely pure, and is much sought after. When the oriental princes and great men travel, as *I* have often remarked, they generally have the water which they are accustomed to drink carried with them, either in earthen jars, or leather vessels, called pacauleys. This is a wholesome custom, as the variety of water on a journey is the cause of many disorders, especially to those who neither mingle it with wine, nor drink any other liquor. Aurungzebe carried it with him from Delhi to Cachemire. The opulent Hindoo travels

with the water of the Ganges ; the ancient kings of Parthia were accompanied by the water of the Choaspes. David, when surrounded by the Philistine army, longed to taste of the water from the well at Bethlehem, his native place : three mighty men of valour brake through the Philistine host, and brought him the water.

Near Brodera is a stone bridge over the river Biswamintree, consisting of two ranges of arches, over each other. I do not mention this construction as being curious, or elegant in its architecture, but as the only bridge I ever saw in India. In Guzerat the rivers are generally crossed in ferry-boats, or the traveller continues his journey along the banks to the nearest ford. During the rainy season, when the rivers swell suddenly, and run with amazing velocity, I have been obliged to cross them on a light platform, fixed on empty earthen pots, dragged over by ropes. This is sometimes a dangerous experiment, especially when any of the pots break.

Brodera is abundantly and cheaply supplied with excellent provisions ; with mutton, beef, and kid, at a penny per pound ; or a whole fat lamb or kid, for fifteen pence ; poultry is not bred much, except near the English settlements in Guzerat ; but deer, hares, partridges, quails, and water-fowl, are extremely cheap and plentiful. Compared with the price of provisions at Bombay, these were uncommonly low, and yet they were extravagant to the cost of similar articles in the northern parts of the Bengal provinces, and some districts through which General Goddard's army marched in their route to Surat. The officers commanding the Bengal battalions of sepoys, then stationed at Brodera, informed me they had in those coun-

tries purchased a fine ox for three rupees ; six sheep, or as many fat lambs, for one rupee ; and five dozen of fowls at the same price ; and that wild hogs, deer, and hares were extremely abundant ; flamingos, wild ducks, and feathered game still more so. In plentiful seasons every kind of Indian grain was procurable by the poorest peasants ; they could buy upwards of three hundred pounds weight of rice for a rupee ; juarree, bahjee, and inferior grain proportionably cheaper.

In such a country none can complain of poverty ; and throughout the province of Guzerat the general wants are few, compared with those of the natives in colder climates, particularly in houses, fuel, and raiment. Give a poor Hindoo his cocoa-nut hubble-bubble, or smoking machine ; a shady tree, near a tank, for his beverage and ablutions ; and a village bazar to purchase a little rice and tobacco, and he performs a long journey perfectly contented. Poor indeed must be the spot which cannot supply him with those necessities ; I never met with any so desolate in the course of my travels. For in Hindostan are no ruthless deserts or pathless plains, so common in Persia and Arabia.

If I were to point out the most beautiful part of India I ever saw, I should fix upon the province of Guzerat ; if I were to decide upon the most delightful part of that province, I should without hesitation prefer the purgunnas of Brodera and Neriad. The crops in the other districts may be equal in variety and abundance, but the number of trees which adorn the roads, the richness of the mango topes round the villages, the size and verdure of the tamarind trees,

clothe the country with uncommon beauty, such indeed as I never saw to so great an extent in any other part of the globe. There is, besides, a voluptuous stillness, if I may use the expression, in an Indian landscape, a serenity in the atmosphere, and a quietness in the road during a morning walk, or evening ride in the cool season, not generally known in Europe. I am almost tempted to say, that the lotos-covered lakes, and their overshadowing banian-trees, have a more cheerful and brilliant appearance than in the surrounding districts : the sweet variety of the red, white, and blue lotos, gently agitated by the breeze, or moved by the spotted halcyon alighting on the stalks, with the rails and water-hens lightly running over the foliage, are altogether lovely. Our tents were pitched in one of these delightful situations on the margin of a lake, about a mile from the walls of Brodera.

“ The trees around them all their food produce,  
 Lotos the name ; divine nectareous juice !  
 (Thence call'd lotophagi) which whoso tastes,  
 Insatiate riots in the sweet repasts.”

ODYSSEY.

Three valuable articles might be cultivated in Guzerat to a much greater extent, which would yield an ample profit, if the speculation did not interfere with the West India trade to England ; these are the sugarcane, tobacco, and indigo ; the luxuriance of these productions, when planted in a congenial soil, indicates the source of wealth that would accrue to the cultivator on a larger scale, without encroaching on the quota of land set apart for the necessary supply of corn, oil, and pulse of various kinds. Mulberries of



three different sorts flourish in the Guzerat gardens the small red, the white, and a long curling kind, hanging in appearance like so many caterpillars. Each of these kinds grow from cuttings without the smallest trouble ; they only require to be stuck in the ground in the rainy season, and take their chance afterwards. Thus silk in any quantity might be produced in various purgunnas. Opium perhaps would not be so productive in all places where the poppies would grow ; nor is it desirable, from the fatal purpose to which it is converted in most parts of India and China. Hemp and flax would flourish in the northern districts, and cotton is a staple commodity of Guzerat.

The villages in the Brodera purgunna, like those of the adjacent districts, are seldom more than two miles from each other. The natives all live either in towns or villages ; a single farm-house, or even a separate cottage, is not often seen. The hedges are formed of the milk-bush, and bamboos, planted for that purpose. Cattle are never left out at night in the village pastures.

It was dreadful to think that the inhabitants of this earthly paradise groaned under the most oppressive despotism. Compared with the government of the Brodera chieftain, a Mogul prince appears a noble character ; but even the latter loses much when contrasted with the ancient Hindoo rajahs. Surrounded as they were by wealth and splendour, there was something patriarchal in their style of administration, which, by delegated authority, pervaded the most distant provinces. A retrospective view of oriental history carries us to a time of great simplicity—to something

like the golden age of the poets, when virtuous princes sat on the throne, and religion unadulterated by modern Brahminism, prevailed throughout the empire.

Futty Sihng completely reversed this benevolent portrait of the ancient Hindoo rajahs. He thought himself under a necessity of paying attention to the English chief of Baroche, with several members of his council, and suitable attendants, travelling through his districts. No sooner were our tents pitched near the walls of Brodera than he sent his chopdars, or heralds, with a friendly message, accompanied with a present of fruit and sweetmeats, and requesting the honour of a visit at the durbar. We accepted his invitation the same evening, and were amused as usual with dancing-girls, music, betel, and sherbet, and received the customary presents, but all in a very unprincely style compared with the Persian and Mogul entertainments at Cambay. The generality of Hindoo princes, when contrasted with the highest class of Mussulmans, are mean and sordid; avarice and ambition unite in both; but the courteous behaviour and dignified politeness of the Mogul are far more engaging than the unpolished manners, mingled with the disagreeable pride of the Mahratta sirdar.

Futty Sihng was a remarkable instance of the blended characteristics of pride, avarice, and a sordid disposition. As a prince he had many names and titles; the principal were Futty Sihng Row, Guicawar, Shamsheer Bahadur. As head of the *Guicawar family* that of *Cow-keeper* was most pre-eminent: the last appellation alludes to the prowess of a military chieftain. Futty, or Futteh Sihng, implies the "Horn of

Victory." The horn has always been a figurative expression in Asia for power and dignity. David says to his enemies, "Lift not up your horn on high."—Psalm lxxv. ver. 5; of himself, "My horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn."—Psalm xcii. ver. 10; or rather the rhinoceros, it being a most offensive weapon in that animal. In Abyssinia the horn, according to Bruce, is worn as an ornament by the nobles and great men, and bound upon the forehead in the days of victory, perferment, and rejoicing; on which occasions they are anointed with new, or sweet oil; a circumstance which David expressly unites with that of lifting up, or erecting the horn. Fatty Sihng was short of stature, of a dark complexion, and mean appearance. He was then forty years of age, had been married to several wives, but had only one child, betrothed a little time before to a young man of family in the Deccan. Fatty Sihng sent a chopdar to me at Dhuboy, with a letter of invitation to the wedding, then celebrating at Brodera at a great expense, and of long continuance. The letter, as usual from oriental princes, was written on silver paper, flowered with gold, with an additional sprinkling of saffron, enclosed under a cover of gold brocade. The letter was accompanied by a bag of crimson and gold keemcaub, filled with sweet-scented seeds, as a mark of favour and good omen; for on these occasions the brahminical astrologers and soothsayers are always particularly consulted.

For several reasons I declined accepting Fatty Sihng's invitation to his daughter's wedding, especially on account of the presents to be given and received on the occasion: for gifts at these oriental visits are far

from being always disinterested, or outward tokens of friendship, especially at a Mahratta durbar ; a return of equal, if not superior value, being generally expected. In a late British embassy to Mahi Rajah Doulut Rao Scindia, one of the great Mahratta princes, after a polite reception and the etiquette usual at a first public visit, the *khiluts*, or presents, were brought in, consisting of eight trays for the ambassador, filled with shawls, muslins, turbans, and brocades ; and one for each of the gentlemen who accompanied him, in which were a pair of shawls, a piece of brocade, a piece of muslin, a turban, &c. The Mah Rajah then fastened with his own hands, a *sirpech*, or ornament of emeralds upon the ambassador's hat ; one of the sirdars did the same by the other gentlemen, after having first offered the jewel to be touched by the sovereign's hand. Ottar of roses, spices, and betel were then distributed in the same manner by his highness to the ambassador, and by one of his chiefs to the rest of the party. When they took leave, a horse and an elephant, neither of them of much value, were waiting without for the ambassador's acceptance. The visit was not returned until ten days afterwards, in consequence of some disputes having arisen respecting the number of presents to be given to the Mah Rajah and his suit. *One hundred and fifty* were at first demanded, which were afterwards reduced to *sixty-seven*. This species of arithmetic was so well understood at the mean and mercenary court of the Brodera chieftain, that I pretended business, and absented myself from the nuptials, where I understood every thing was conducted with an ostentatious parsimony peculiar to a Mahratta durbar : for the Mogul princes, as far as

their declining fortunes admit, likewise still preserve a degree of splendour, taste, and generosity, unknown among modern Hindoo sovereigns.

The wedding of Vazeer Ally, eldest son of Asuf-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, celebrated at Lucknow in 1795, was one of the most magnificent in modern times. Its description by an eye-witness, forms a splendid contrast to the shabby proceedings at Brodera, and far exceeds any thing I had an opportunity of seeing amongst the princes of Guzerat, or during my residence in India. "All the omrahs and great men of the country were invited to this festivity, and a party of English ladies and gentlemen went to the celebration on elephants caparisoned. The nabob had his tents pitched on the plains, near the city of Lucknow; among the number were two remarkably large, made of strong cotton cloth lined with the finest English broad-cloth, cut in stripes of different colours, with cords of silk and cotton. These two tents cost five lacs of rupees, or above fifty thousand pounds sterling; they were each a hundred and twenty feet long, sixty broad, and the poles about sixty feet high: the walls of the tents were ten feet high; part of them were cut into lattice-work for the women of the nabob's seraglio, and those of the principal nobility, to see through. In front prepared for our reception was a large shumceana, or awning, of fine English broad-cloth, supported on sixty poles covered with silver; this awning was about a hundred feet long and as many broad. We were received with great politeness by the nabob, who conducted us to one of the largest tents destined for the men, where we sat for about an hour. His Highness was covered

with jewels, to the amount at least of two millions sterling. From thence we removed to the shumeeana, which was illuminated by two hundred elegant girandoles from Europe, as many glass shades with wax candles, and several hundred flambeaux ; the glare and reflection was dazzling, and offensive to the sight. When seated under this extensive canopy, above a hundred dancing-girls, richly dressed, went through their elegant, but rather lascivious dances and motions, and sung some soft airs of the country, chiefly Persic and Hindoo-Persic. About seven o'clock, the bridegroom Vazeer Ally, the young nabob, made his appearance, so absurdly loaded with jewels that he could scarcely stagger under the precious weight. The bridegroom was about thirteen years of age, the bride ten ; they were both of a dark complexion, and not handsome.

“From the shumeeana we proceeded on elephants to an extensive and beautiful garden, about a mile distant. The procession was grand beyond conception : it consisted of above twelve hundred elephants, richly caparisoned, drawn up in a regular line like a regiment of soldiers. About a hundred elephants in the centre had houdahs, or castles, covered with silver ; in the midst of these appeared the nabob mounted on an uncommonly large elephant, within a houdah covered with gold, richly set with precious stones. The elephant was caparisoned with cloth of gold. On his right hand was Mr. George Johnstone, the British resident at the court of Lucknow ; on his left the young bridegroom ; the English gentlemen and ladies and the native nobility were intermixed on the right and left. On both sides of the road, from the tents to the garden, were raised artificial scenery of

bamboo work, very high, representing bastions, arches, minarets, and towers, covered with lights in glass lamps, which made a grand display. On each side of the procession, in front of the line of elephants, were dancing-girls superbly dressed, (on platforms supported and carried by bearers) who danced as we went along. These platforms consisted of a hundred on each side of the procession, all covered with gold and silver cloths, with two girls and two musicians at each platform.

“ The ground from the tents to the garden, forming the road on which we moved, was *inlaid* with fire-works ; at every step of the elephants the earth burst before us, and threw up artificial stars in the heavens, to emulate those created by the hand of Providence ; besides innumerable rockets, and many hundred wooden shells that burst in the air, and shot forth a thousand fiery serpents ; these, winding through the atmosphere, illuminated the sky, and, aided by the light of the bamboo scenery, turned a dark night into a bright day. The procession moved on very slowly, to give time for the fire-works inlaid in the ground to go off. The whole of this grand scene was further lighted by above three thousand flambeaux, carried by men hired for the occasion. In this manner we moved on in stately pomp to the garden, which, though only a mile off, we took two hours to reach. When we arrived at the garden gate we descended from the elephants and entered the garden, illuminated by innumerable transparent paper lamps, or lanterns, of various colours, suspended to the branches of the trees. In the centre of the garden was a large edifice, to which we ascended, and were introduced into a grand saloon, adorned with girandoles and pen-

dant lustres of English manufacture, lighted with wax candles. Here we had an elegant and sumptuous collation of European and Indian dishes, with wines, fruits, and sweetmeats; at the same time, above a hundred dancing-girls sung their sprightly airs, and performed their native dances.

“Thus passed the time until dawn, when we all returned to our respective homes, delighted and wonder-struck with this enchanting scene, which surpassed in splendour every entertainment of the kind beheld in this country. The affable nabob rightly observed, with a little Asiatic vanity, that such a spectacle was never before seen in India, and never would be seen again. The whole expense of this marriage feast, which was repeated for three successive nights in the same manner, cost upwards of three hundred thousand pounds sterling.”

“Asuf-ud-Dowlah, since deceased, was the son of the famous, or rather infamous Shujah-ud-Dowlah, nabob of Oude, who was conquered by the arms of the British East India Company, directed by the invincible Clive. He died in 1775, leaving the character of a bold, enterprizing, and rapacious prince. His son, Asuf-ud-Dowlah, succeeded to the government by the assistance of the East India Company. Mild in manners, polite and affable in his conduct, he possessed no great mental powers; his heart was good, considering his education, which instilled the most despotic ideas. He was fond of lavishing his treasures on gardens, palaces, horses, elephants, European guns, lustres, and mirrors. He expended every year about two hundred thousand pounds in English manufactures. This nabob had more than a hundred gar-



dens, twenty palaces, twelve hundred elephants, three thousand fine saddle horses, fifteen hundred double-barrel guns, seventeen hundred superb lustres, thirty thousand shades of various form and colour; several hundred large mirrors, girandoles, and clocks; some of the latter were very curious, richly set with jewels, having figures in continual movement, and playing tunes every hour; two of these clocks cost him thirty thousand pounds. Without taste or judgment, he was extremely solicitous to possess all that was elegant and rare; he had instruments and machines of every art and science, but he knew none; and his museum was so ridiculously displayed, that a wooden cuckoo clock was placed close to a superb time-piece which cost the price of a diadem; and a valuable landscape of Claude Lorraine suspended near a board painted with ducks and drakes. He sometimes gave a dinner to ten or twelve persons sitting at their ease in a carriage drawn by elephants. His haram contained above five hundred of the greatest beauties of India, immured in high walls, which they were never to leave except on their biers.

“He had an immense number of domestic servants, and a very large army, besides being fully protected from hostile invasion by the Company’s subsidiary forces, for which he paid five hundred thousand pounds per annum. His jewels amounted to about eight millions sterling. I saw him in the midst of this precious treasure, handling them as a child does his toys.”—L. F. SMITH.

I do not insert Futty Sihng’s nuptial invitation, nor any of his letters to me during my residence at Dhuboy; the contents were seldom interesting, and the

style far from elegant. A letter from Mirza Zum-mum, vizier at Cambay, has afforded one specimen of Persian writing; the two following, from a Mahomedan and Hindoo sovereign, of very different characters, will be a sufficient illustration of modern oriental epistles. For the first, from the celebrated Hyder Ally Khaun, and the anecdote accompanying it, I am indebted to Sir James Sibbald, formerly ambassador at the court of that nabob: for the latter, to Sir Charles Malet, who filled the same character at the Mahratta durbar.

In the rainy season of 1768, during the war which the East India Company were then carrying on against Hyder Ally, Sir James Sibbald proceeded from Telli-cherry to Coimbatoor, where Colonel Wood commanded a detachment from the Madras army, in order to obtain information of the state of the war in that part of Hyder's country, that a plan of co-operation might be adopted with the Bombay presidency, for the renewal of hostilities against his possessions on the Malabar coast, at the opening of the fair season. On arriving at Coimbatoor, he found Colonel Wood's detachment had taken possession of the greatest part of that province; the nabob himself, with a large force, being employed in obstructing the operations of Colonel Smith, in command of the main army then at Colah, and preparing for the siege of Bangalore. The difficulty of bringing Hyder to a pitched battle threatened destruction to our affairs; for his mode of carrying on the war by avoiding any decisive engagement, and by cutting off all supplies of provisions, obliged us to abandon our advantages almost as soon as gained. In this situation the government of Ma-

dras endeavoured to equip Colonel Wood's army with a light train of artillery and a picked body of sepoys; in the hope, that by the velocity of their movements they might bring Hyder to action, and thereby leave Colonel Smith with the main army to proceed uninterrupted to Bangalore. But however sanguine were the expectations of the Madras government, Colonel Wood found it a vain attempt to bring the nabob to an action, although he had been following him in different directions for many weeks, according to the best intelligence he could obtain of his movements.

At length Colonel Wood, completely harassed and weary of the pursuit, adopted a very singular expedient to effect his purpose: he wrote a letter to Hyder Ally, stating that it was disgraceful for a great prince, at the head of a large army, to fly before a detachment of infantry and a few pieces of cannon, unsupported by cavalry. The nabob's answer to this extraordinary letter transmits a very impressive trait of that great man's character.

“ I have received your letter, in which you invite me to an action with your army. Give me the same sort of troops that you command, and your wishes shall be accomplished. You will in time understand my mode of warfare. Shall I risk my cavalry, which cost a thousand rupees each horse, against your cannon ball which cost two pice? \* No.—I will march your troops until their legs shall become the size of their bodies.—You shall not have a blade of grass, nor a drop of water. I will hear of *you* every time

\* A piece of copper equal to a penny.

your drum beats, but you shall not know where I am once a month.—I *will* give your army battle, but it must be when I please, and not when you choose.”

Every word in this letter proved true. The incessant fatigue which Colonel Wood's detachment underwent, brought on such complaints among the troops that he was obliged to leave a great number in different garrisons of Coimbatoor. By keeping a piquet of horse to watch Colonel Wood's motions, and establishing telegraphs on signal posts in different parts of the country, Hyder exactly knew every movement his army made; and, by laying waste the country, and destroying the tanks and wells as Colonel Wood advanced, the latter was frequently obliged to retreat for want of forage and water. To complete his promise, and fulfil his threat of giving battle to the British army when he thought proper, Hyder surprised Colonel Wood at Manbagul, and brought him to an engagement, in which he lost all his artillery, and nothing saved his little army but the advance of Colonel Smith; who, upon hearing a heavy cannonade at daybreak that morning, marched immediately from Colah, and reached the spot in time to compel Hyder to fall back, at the moment when Colonel Wood's troops were upon the point of being entirely defeated.

The other specimen of an oriental epistle is from the peshwa of the Mahratta empire to the king of Great Britain, accompanying some valuable presents, intrusted to the care of Sir Charles Malet, on his departure for England in 1798. This was accompanied by another letter, expressive of the peshwa's

friendship to the East India Company: that to his majesty was the first instance of the Mahratta durbar making a declaration of attachment to a British sovereign.

*Translation of a letter from Soude Badjerou Ragonath, peshwa of the Mahratta empire, to his Majesty George the Third, King of Great Britain, &c. &c.*

“ May the august assembly of spiritual and temporal majesty, may the congregation of glory and royalty, long derive splendour from the princely virtues of your Majesty, pre-eminent among the inheritors of grandeur and magnificence, supporter of the mighty and illustrious, chosen of the tribunal of the Almighty; elect of the judgment-seat of infinity!

“ Some time ago the exalted Sir Charles Warre Malet was appointed by the mighty chiefs of Calcutta to reside at the court of your well-wisher, in the character of their minister; which respectable gentleman, being endowed with foresight and experience in business, was always employed in, and devoted to strengthening the mutual friendship, and increasing the cordiality of the two states; but having, at this season, adopted the resolution of returning to England, he has taken leave, and proceeded towards that quarter; which opportunity has been embraced to transmit, under his care, for your Majesty's gracious acceptance, sundry pieces of cloth and articles of jewellery, agreeable to the accompanying catalogue, which he will have the honour of presenting to your Majesty; and we have a firm hope they will be honoured with your Majesty's approval.

“ Your Majesty, looking on your well-wisher (the Peshwa) as one of those sincerely studious of your good-will, will be pleased to honour him with your exalted letters, which will be deemed a gracious proof of your Majesty’s kindness and attention. May your empire and prosperity be everlasting !”

The presents from the Mahratta Peshwa to his Britannic Majesty, mentioned in the preceding letter, consisted of two hundred and thirty-two diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, set in various ornaments; two strings containing a hundred and twenty beautiful pearls; and a large pearl, pendant to an ornament of diamonds and emeralds, called a *jeega*. These were accompanied by a complete Indian dress of costly materials, and twenty valuable shawls.

These may be esteemed a magnificent present from a Hindoo prince at this period. More must depend upon the value than the number of jewels sent by the durbar at Poonah to the British sovereign—of that I can give no estimate. But the Mahratta khiluts, and all the presents I have heard of in modern times, dwindle into insignificance when compared with those recorded of the Mogul emperors and sultauns of Deccan. A peace-offering from Dewal Roy to Sultaun Firoze Shah, consisted of ten lacs of pagodas, a sum amounting to near four hundred thousand pounds sterling; fifty elephants, most probably richly caparisoned; two thousand slaves of both sexes, accomplished in singing, dancing, and music. To these were added pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, to an inestimable value. This magnificent present, so greatly exceeding those usually sent from one oriental sovereign to

another, was to effect a reconciliation, and procure the sultaun's favour after a rebellion; but there are many instances of dresses richly set with jewels, Arabian horses shod with gold, in caparisons embossed with rubies and emeralds, and other superb presents from eastern sovereigns to their favourites, which realize half the fictions performed by the obedient genii of Aladdin's wonderful lamp.

Such was the magnificence of former ages: all is now reversed; and it appears as if the courage, magnanimity, and generosity which once adorned the character of the Hindoo and Mahomedan princes, had vanished with their fortunes. As I have described it in the Concan and Malabar, thus I found it at every court I visited in Guzerat, whether Mahratta or Mahomedan. On the extent of human misery under such a dreadful system of government, it is painful and needless to enlarge—it is universal throughout Hindostan; none attempt to stem the torrent of venality and corruption. The conduct of great and small is influenced by fear, for which Montesquieu assigns sufficient reasons. The more we develope oriental courts, the more we are convinced that the beautiful animating principle of patriotic virtue is entirely unknown.

We certainly meet with a few characters which form a pleasing contrast to the general picture of the higher orders in India; and indicate, that, among the Hindoos especially, there are minds open to literary and philosophical pursuits, and I trust also to the reception of truth; to the balmy comforts of that religion which alone produces true happiness in this life, and bliss eternal in that which is to come. There are instances in every rank, from the haughty Brahmin to the poor

Chandalah, which prove that a change may be effected, and conversion take place. The attempt has been made and succeeded, and will, I have no doubt, in due time be wisely directed throughout the whole empire of British India.

It is impossible to calculate the effects which may ultimately be produced by Asiatic researches, and the noble establishment of the college at Calcutta. From the revival of science, learning, and true philosophy on the banks of the Ganges, we may expect to see the temples of Vishnoo consecrated to the worship of Jehovah, and Brahminical groves, now seminaries for astrology, geomancy, and frivolous pursuits, become the seats of classical learning and liberal sentiment. The climate of India does not militate against patriotic virtue and manly attainments, although it may in some degree depress their energy. Greece, now the abode of the ignorant, indolent, and illiberal Turk, was once the theatre of wisdom, virtue, and glory! Art and science, nurtured in Asia, will, under the auspices of peace and liberty, resume their influence over the fertile regions of Hindostan. Philosophy, religion, and virtue, attended by liberality, taste, and elegance, will revisit a favourite clime; poetry, music, painting, and sculpture, encouraged by the genius of Britain, may there strew the path of virtue with many a fragrant flower.

These when patronized by Akber, and a few other princes, flourished sufficiently to shew what may be again expected. The arts are now at the lowest ebb in India. How far music is encouraged in modern durbars I cannot say. In the splendour of the Mogul empire, music and illuminations seem to have formed a principal



evening amusement. Akber, every afternoon, some little time before sun-set, if asleep, was awakened; and when the sun set, the attendants lighted twelve camphor candles in twelve massive candlesticks of gold and silver, of various form and beauty; when a singer of sweet melody, taking up one of the candlesticks, sang a variety of delightful airs, and concluded with imploring blessings on his majesty.

I have not touched upon either Hindoo or Mahomedan music from my own knowledge, as I can say little on the subject, having been seldom pleased with their vocal or instrumental melody; nor, from those who had better opportunities of being acquainted with it, did I ever hear much in its favour. Although I agree with Sir William Ouseley, that some of the Hindoo melodies possess the plaintive simplicity of the Scotch and Irish, and others a wild and pleasing originality; he says, on the subject of oriental music, "the books which treat of it are numerous and curious. Sir William Jones mentions the works of Amin, a musician; the *Damadara*, the *Narayan*, the *Ragamava*, and (not to add any more Indian names) the sea of passions, the delight of assemblies, the doctrine of musical modes, and many other Sanscrit and Hindoostani treatises. To these must be added an essay on the science of music; the object of which is to teach the understanding of the raugs and rauginees, and the playing upon musical instruments. From this work it is briefly stated, that the Hindoos have a gamut, consisting of seven notes, like our own; which being repeated in three several *ast'hans*, or octaves, form in all a scale of twenty-one natural notes. The seven notes which form the gamut

are expressed *sa, ra, ga, ma, pa, da, na* ; or *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni* ; and, when written at length, stand thus : *kau,redge* ; *rekhub* ; *gundhaur* ; *mud,dhum* ; *punchum* ; *dhaworth* ; *neekhaudh*. Of these seven words (the first excepted) the initial letters are used in writing music to represent the notes. Instead of the initial of the first or lowest, *kau,redge*, that of the word *sur* is used : which signifies emphatically the *note*, being as it were the foundation of the others ; and named *swara*, or the *sound*, from the important office which it bears in the scale.

“ On the subject of those ancient and extraordinary melodies, which the Hindoos call *raugs* and *rauginees*, the popular traditions are as numerous and romantic, as the powers ascribed to them are miraculous. Of the six *raugs*, the five first owe their origin to the god Mahadew, who produced them from his five heads, Parbuttee, his wife, constructed the sixth ; and the thirty *rauginees* were composed by Brimha. Thus, of celestial invention, these melodies are of a peculiar genus ; and of the three ancient genera of the Greeks, resemble most the *enharmonic* : the more modern compositions are of that species termed *diatonic*.

“ A considerable difficulty is found in setting to music the *raugs* and *rauginees* ; as our system does not supply notes, or signs, sufficiently expressive of the almost imperceptible elevations and depressions of the voice in these melodies ; of which the time is broken and irregular, the modulations frequent and very wild. Whatever magic was in the touch when Orpheus swept his lyre, or Timotheus filled his softly-breathing flute, the effects said to have been pro-

duced by two of the six raugs, are even more extraordinary than any of those ascribed to the modes of the ancients. Mia Tousine, a wonderful musician in the time of the emperor Akber, sung one of the *night raugs* at mid-day: the powers of his music were such that it instantly became night; and the darkness extended in a circle round the palace, as far as the sound of his voice could be heard.

“I shall say little on the tradition of Naik Gopaul, another celebrated musician in the reign of Akber, who was commanded by the emperor to sing the raug *dheepuck*; which whoever attempted to sing should be destroyed by fire—the story is long; Naik Gopaul flew to the river Jumna, and plunged himself up to the neck in water; where Akber, determined to prove the power of this raug, compelled the unfortunate musician to sing it; when, notwithstanding his situation in the river, flames burst violently from his body and consumed him to ashes.

“These and other anecdotes of the same nature, are related by many of the Hindoos, and implicitly believed by some. The effect produced by the *maig mullaar* raug was immediate rain. And it is told, that a singing-girl once, by exerting the powers of her voice in this raug, drew down from the clouds timely and refreshing showers on the parched rice-crops of Bengal, and thereby averted the horrors of famine from the *paradise of regions*. An European, in that country, inquiring after those whose musical performance might produce similar effects, is gravely told “that the art is now almost lost, but that there are still musicians possessed of those wonderful powers in the West of India.” If one inquires in the

West, they say, 'that if any such performers remain, they are to be found only in Bengal.'

"Counterpoint seems not to have entered, at any time, into the system of Indian music. It is not alluded to in the manuscript treatises which I have hitherto perused; nor have I discovered that any of our ingenious Orientalists speak of it as being known in Hindostan."

Many of the Brahmins and principal Hindoos of Dhuboy who attended the royal nuptials at Brodera, gave me an account of the entertainments, which lasted many days. I have already mentioned the nocturnal processions and expensive pageantry on these occasions, but have not particularized the marriage ceremonies, which are given by Mr. Colebrook: from his account I subjoin a few of the most striking features, which vary but little throughout Hindostan.

"The marriage ceremony opens with a solemn reception of the bridegroom by the father of the bride. Having previously performed the obsequies of ancestors, as is usual upon any accession of good fortune, the father of the bride sits down to await the bridegroom's arrival, in the apartment prepared for the purpose, and at the time chosen for it, according to rules of astrology. The jewels, and other presents intended for him, are placed there; a cow is tied on the northern side of the apartment, and a stool or cushion, and other furniture for the reception of the guest, are arranged in order. On his approach the bride's father rises to welcome him, and recites a short prayer, while the bridegroom stands before him. After the mention of many previous ceremonies, presents suitable to the rank of the parties are then presented to the guest. At the marriage ceremony, too, the bride is

formally given by her father to the bridegroom in this stage of the solemnity, according to some rituals, but later according to others. The hospitable rites are then concluded by letting loose the cow, at the intercession of the guest, who says "kill not the innocent harmless cow, who is mother of Rudras, daughter of Vasus, sister of A'dytas, and the source of ambrosia. May she expiate my sins! release her that she may graze." It is evident that the bridegroom's intercessions imply a practice, now become obsolete, of slaying a cow for the purposes of hospitality.

Many pages of ceremonies then follow, which lead to one of more consequence: when the bridegroom puts his left hand under the bride's hands, which are joined together in a hollow form, with *cusa* grass, and then taking her right hand in his, he recites the six following texts. "First, I take thee for the sake of good fortune, that thou mayest become old with me, thy husband. May the generous, mighty, and prolific sun render thee a matron, that I may be a householder. Second, Be gentle in thy aspect, and loyal to thy husband; be fortunate in cattle; amiable in thy mind, and beautiful in thy person; be mother of surviving sons; be assiduous at the five sacraments; be cheerful, and bring prosperity to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Third, May the lord of creatures grant us progeny, even unto old age; may the sun render that progeny conspicuous. Auspicious deities have given thee to me. Enter thy husband's abode; and bring health to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Fourth, O Indra, who pourest forth rain! render this woman fortunate and the mother of children: grant her ten sons, give her eleven protectors. Fifth, Be submissive to thy husband's father, to his mother, to his

sister, and to his brothers. Sixth, Give thy heart to my religious duties; may thy mind follow mine; be thou consentient to my speech. May Vrihaspati unite thee unto me."

This is succeeded by a variety of other ceremonies, mentioned at large by Mr. Colebrook. During the three subsequent days the married couple must abstain from factitious salt, live chastely and austere, and sleep on the ground. On the following day, that is, on the fourth exclusively, the bridegroom conducts the bride to his own house on a carriage, or other suitable conveyance. He recites the following text when she ascends the carriage. "O wife of the sun! ascend this vehicle, resembling the beautiful blossoms of the cotton-tree, and butea, tinged with various tints, and coloured like gold; well constructed; furnished with good wheels, and the source of ambrosia (that is, of blessings), bring happiness to thy husband!" Proceeding with his bride, he, or some other person for him, recites the following text on their coming to a cross road: "May robbers, who infest the road, remain ignorant of this journey; may the married couple reach a place of security and difficult of access by easy roads, and may foes keep aloof!"

Alighting from the carriage, the bridegroom leads the bride into the house, chaunting the hymn called *Vāmadēvya*. Matrons welcome the bride, and make her sit down on a bull's hide; and the bridegroom points out to her the polar star, as an emblem of stability; he then recites the following prayer: "May kine here produce numerous young; may horses and human beings do so; and may the deity sit here, by

whose favour sacrifices are accomplished with gifts a thousand fold."

I have already mentioned the custom of marrying their children in a state of infancy. It is as much practised in Guzerat, as in other parts of Hindostan; although great part of the preceding ceremonies are intended for persons more advanced in life. On this part of the subject Mr. Colebrook remarks, that, "among the Hindoos a girl is married before the age of puberty; the law even censures the delay of the marriage beyond the tenth year. For this reason, and because the bridegroom too may be an infant, it is rare that a marriage should be consummated until long after its solemnization. The recital of prayers on this occasion constitutes it a religious ceremony, and it is the first of those that are performed for the purpose of expiating the sinful taint which a child is supposed to have contracted in the womb of his mother."

Another writer on the Hindoo marriages, after reciting the previous ceremonies, says "the tali, which is a ribbon with a golden head hanging to it, is held ready; and, being shewn to the company, some prayers and blessings are pronounced; after which the bridegroom takes it, and hangs it about the bride's neck. This knot is what particularly secures his possession of her: for, before he had put the tali on, all the rest of the ceremonies might have been made to no purpose. But when once the tali is put on, the marriage is indissoluble; and, whenever the husband dies, the tali is burnt along with him, to shew that the marriage bands are broken." It is this part of the

ceremony to which Southey alludes in the "Curse of Kehama," where Azla and Nealliny, the two wives of Arvalan, are sacrificed on his funeral pile; the one voluntarily, the other by compulsion.

About the time of his daughter's wedding, Fuddy Sihng paid a visit to the officers of the Bengal detachment, then encamped near Brodera. He wished to consult them upon an intended alteration in his artillery, and to be present at the experiment. The chieftain left the durbar on a state elephant, with the customary cavalcade: arriving at the bottom of the eminence where the field-pieces were mounted, it was found the elephant could not ascend, and there being no palanquin at hand, the prince of the Guicawars was compelled to alight, and walk a few yards to the summit, to the astonishment of the attendants, who thought it derogatory to his dignity. On advancing, the chopdars, or heralds, proclaimed the titles of this princely cow-keeper in the usual hyperbolical style. One of the most insignificant looking men I ever saw, then became the destroyer of nations, the leveller of mountains, the exhaustor of the ocean. After commanding every inferior mortal to make way for this exalted prince, the heralds called aloud to the animal creation, "Retire, ye serpents; fly, ye locusts; approach not, guanas, lizards, and reptiles, while your lord and master condescends to set his foot on the earth."

Our encampment without the walls of Brodera was so pleasant, that we seldom entered the city; which, like most other Indian towns, was hot, dusty, and disagreeable, affording no attractions to vie with the natural beauties of the country. I repeat, no groves are more



shady, no plains more delightful, no lotos-covered lakes more brilliant, than in the Brodera purgunna. For here they have the addition of that lovely species of the *menianthes* sometimes seen on the margin of the lakes on Salsette : it is one of the most elegant aquatic plants in Hindostan, smaller than the lotos, with beautiful fringed petals of the purest white, floating on the surface of the water, surrounded by a dark foliage. When not too cold to sit under *summeanas* without our tents, the moon-light evenings afforded a tranquil pleasure, more easily conceived than described. The air was perfumed from the *mogrees* and *champachs* near the Mahomedan mausoleums and groves, which, after the monkeys, peacocks, and squirrels had retired to rest, were still enlivened by the prolonged notes of the bulbul, continued sometimes an hour after sunset ; this favourite songster was succeeded by the *pepceheh*, which frequently serenaded the midnight hour. The *pepceheh* is said, by Abul Fazel, to sing most enchantingly during the night, at the commencement of the rains ; when its lays cause the old wounds of lovers to bleed afresh. This bird is also called *peeyoo*, which in the Sanscrit language signifies *beloved*.

The cold evenings in January often compelled us to leave the *summeana*, and retire for warmth within our tents. This was the coldest season I ever felt in Guzerat ; far more so than is generally experienced in the twenty third degree of north latitude ; it was most intense about an hour before sun-rise ; and although there was no ice, the cold was certainly more sharp and penetrating than the autumnal frosts in England. I never met with ice in India, but I have been told some old people at Surat remembered to have seen it.

In an interesting journey in 1798, from Mirzapoor to Nagpoor, we find that for several days together, in the month of January, in the twenty-fourth degree of north latitude, the travellers met with sharp frosts, and ice on the ponds and in their vessels, for more than two hours after sun-rise: a thermometer, which had been exposed all night, was covered with icicles in the morning, and stood after sun-rise at  $21^{\circ}$ . This appears to have been the coldest night exhibited by Fahrenheit's thermometer on that journey, which generally stood at  $23^{\circ}$  or  $24^{\circ}$  at sun-rise, rose at noon to  $62^{\circ}$ , and by ten at night fell to  $31^{\circ}$ .

Our tents, on this journey, were more than once pitched near the spot set apart for the Chandalahs; who, as already mentioned, are seldom permitted to reside within the city walls, nor to have their habitations near the other inhabitants in the open towns. The sight of these poor outcasts, with the reflections naturally occurring from their abject condition, proved an alloy to the notes of the bulbul and the perfume of the champach. It is impossible to behold them without pity, and, while subject to Brahminical influence, without hope of amendment. Under my own administration I endeavoured to ameliorate their condition; but so rooted were the prejudices of the higher castes, that all attempts were fruitless. The liberal-minded Aul Fazel, discriminating all the other Hindoo castes by some appropriate characteristic, with a frigid brevity, unlike his usual benevolence, says, "the Chandalahs are vile wretches, who eat carrion." And when mentioning polluted things among the Hindoos, he adds, "water that has been defiled by the shadow of a Chandalah, is to be purified by sunshine,

moonshine, or wind, and that wooden vessels, if touched by a Chandalah, cannot be purified by any means."

It is curious to observe (although in some measure accounted for in other parts of these volumes) that in fines and punishments for murder, among other castes of Hindoos, no mention is made of killing the poor pariar or outcast Chandalah. Thus says the Hindoo law on murder: "If an inferior kills his superior, he shall suffer death. If a Brahmin kills a Brahmin, his estate shall be confiscated, and the hair of his head cut off; he shall be branded in the forehead and banished. If a Brahmin kills a Kehterec, he shall be fined one thousand cows, and a bull. If a Brahmin kills a Byse, he shall be fined one hundred cows, and a bull. If a Brahmin kills a Sooder, he shall be fined ten cows and a bull." Here seems to be a regular scale of degradation in human nature; from a thousand cows to ten, according to the elevation or depression of caste: in which the Chandalah is not deemed worthy of notice.

I say again, that the efficient government of a nation whose own laws and privileges (as far as human institutions can) deservedly boast the perfection of jurisprudence, whose monarch extends his sceptre over sixty millions of Asiatic subjects, will surely now be exerted in giving full effect to that wise and benevolent resolution of the House of Commons in 1793; "that it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that for these ends, such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful

knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement." From so long a residence amongst the exalted Brahmins and degraded Chandalahs, and witnessing many other evils occasionally mentioned among the natives of India, I cannot refrain from adding my evidence, however humble, to the mass of knowledge and brilliant lights lately thrown on this interesting subject from abler pens. The more we reflect on the degraded situation of the lower tribes of Hindoos, the more unpleasant are the sensations in a mind of sensibility.

Can the conversion of the Hindoos, on a mild, liberal, and benevolent plan, be called misguided zeal; a zeal without prudence and without knowledge? By a real Christian it surely cannot be deemed a thing indifferent, whether they are to be taught the truths of the Gospel; whether they shall be transferred from darkness to light; and from the worship of idols to the adoration of the living God! Notwithstanding all that has been alleged in the controversy respecting the conversion of our Indian subjects, this is an hypothesis that will not be generally admitted. It must be obvious that in the code of Menu are many dreadful desiderata; millions are excluded by it from the knowledge of the Hindoo religion; a religion, indeed, upon so unjust a foundation, that a Brahmin may commit the most heinous crimes with comparative impunity; while the poor Chandalah, who leads a virtuous life, is prohibited from the universal privilege of humanity. Does the latter make no *silent appeal* to the *feeling hearts* of British legislators? When the Hindoo law-giver (so far from offering him the benefits of religion) does not even permit him to tread the

outer courts of the temple, does it not still more behove an enlightened government to tender him the comforts of the Gospel, and an equitable share in the common rights of man? It is not the mysteries of Christianity on which a stress is now laid; it is on the divine consolations afforded by that blessed revelation, and the practice of the moral duties which it inculcates.

On leaving the Brodera purgunna, we entered a small territory belonging to the Meah-Gaum rajah, named Ramul Sihng. This Hindoo chieftain, more than any I ever saw in India, reminded me of the ancient patriarchs; and his domestic arrangements nearly resembled those of my venerable Mahomedan host at Ram-Rajah. Like him, this respectable Hindoo lived under the same roof with twelve of his sons, their wives and children. Some others were engaged in the service of foreign princes, many had fallen in battle, and several daughters were married among their own caste, in different parts of Guzerat. Ramul Sihng was highly esteemed in that province: although not abounding in wealth, or possessing a large revenue, he was kind and hospitable to strangers; gave them the milk and honey of his land; and, though forbidden by religious tenets to kill the fatted calf, the firstlings of his flock, the milk of his kine, and the fruits of his garden, were always sent to travellers who visited his little capital. It was a delightful visit to his humble durbar; where, surrounded by his children in many generations, he prayed for blessings on their heads, and embraced them with paternal affection. I heard the subjects in his little principality speak of their parental chief, as did the inhabitants of Uz in the days of yore; in the very words they used, which I

noted down at the time. "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me it gave witness to me; because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish, came upon me; and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy!"—Job, ch. xxix. ver. 11—13.

The rajah of Meah Gaum was indeed an amiable exception to the Indian portraits lately introduced. With equal pleasure I now bring forward two others, in the characters of Hiroo Nand, and his amiable wife, then lately deceased, and burnt at Brodera. Hiroo Nand was duan to Futti Sihng; who, however deficient in princely virtues himself, knew how to value them in a faithful servant. His superior abilities and unshaken integrity gained him the esteem of his prince; he was equally beloved by his subjects for his justice, moderation, and clemency in collecting the revenues of the Guickwar, which annually amounted to sixty lacs of rupees. Thus respected by all ranks, his happiness was complete, from having married a young lady of family, in every respect worthy of such a husband. When his presence was required in distant provinces, to her he intrusted all his concerns in Brodera; she not only transacted business, audited accounts, carried on his correspondence and received his own officers, but gave audience to foreign deputations. This is the more extraordinary, as very few Hindoo women can either write or read.

A short time previous to our visiting Brodera, Hiroo was seized with a dangerous fever at Neriad. The Brahmin physicians giving very little hope of recovery, he sent for his wife, who arrived in time to ad-

minister the last consolations to her expiring husband. She accompanied his corpse to Brodera, where the funeral pile was to be erected, with a fixed resolve not to survive him. On hearing of the duan's illness, Futtý Sihng sent to assure his wife of his favour and protection; and in case of his decease promised the regard due to a faithful minister should be transferred to his widow and children.

Her husband amply provided for her by will, and, contrary to the laws of dowry, and general customs of the Hindoos, he made her totally independent of his family. All were of no avail, she persisted in her determination to attend him to a better world, and suffered not the tears nor supplications of an aged mother and three helpless infants to change her purpose.

The funeral pyre was erected on the banks of the river Biswamintree, without the gates of Brodera. An immense concourse of all ranks assembled at the cremation; a band of music accompanied the Brahmins who superintended the ceremony. The bower of death, enwreathed with sacred flowers, was erected over the pile of sandal-wood and spices, on which lay the body of the deceased. After various ceremonies, the music ceased, and the crowd in solemn silence waited the arrival of the heroine! She approached from a temporary retirement with the Brahmins, attended by her mother, and three lovely children, arrayed in rich attire, and wearing the hymeneal crown, an ornament peculiar to a Hindoo bride at her marriage. On reaching the pyre she made a salam to the surrounding spectators, and a low obeisance to her husband's body. After a few religious ceremonies, the atten-

dants took off her jewels, anointed her dishevelled hair with consecrated ghee, as also the skirts of her flowing robe of yellow muslin (the colour of nuptial bliss). Two lisping infants clung round her knees, to dissuade her from the fatal purpose; the last pledge of conjugal love was taken from her bosom by an aged parent, in speechless agony. Freed from these heart-piercing mourners, the lovely widow, with an air of solemn majesty, received a lighted torch from the Brahmins, with which she walked seven times round the pyre. Stopping near the entrance of the bower, for the last time she addressed the fire, and worshipped the other deities, as prescribed in the Suttu-ved: then setting fire to her hair, and the skirts of her robe, to render herself the only brand worthy of illuminating the sacred pile, she threw away the torch, rushed into the bower, and, embracing her husband, thus communicated the flames to the surrounding branches. The musicians immediately struck up the loudest strains, to drown the cries of the victim, should her courage have forsaken her. But several spectators then present assured me the serenity of her countenance, and dignity of her behaviour, surpassed all the sacrifices of a similar nature they had ever witnessed. I was invited to this cremation, which took place within twelve miles of my residence, and am now sorry I did not attend so extraordinary an immolation.

The widow of Hiroo walked seven times round the funeral pile; some Hindoo females only encompass it thrice; and there may be other exceptions. But in ancient and modern history we find the numbers seven and three generally considered to be sacred; the former number is most common in Scripture. Among



the Greeks and Romans the latter prevails, especially at funerals.

“Οἱ δὲ τρίς περὶ νεκρὸν ἐύτριχας ἤλασαν ἵππους  
Μυρομένοι.” HOMER, 23. B.

They drive their horses thrice about the dead  
Lamenting.

“Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis  
Decurere rogos, ter mæstum funeris ignem  
Lustravere in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.” VIRG.

Well-arm'd, thrice round the pile they march'd on foot,  
Thrice round it rode, and with a dismal shout  
Survey'd the rolling flames.

The character and conduct of the young Hindoo widow excites our admiration and claims our pity ; for, although we may admire the heroism, we must pity a female, biassed by a wrong education, and influenced by a false religion, to make this dreadful sacrifice. Christianity would have regulated her affections, have taught her the delights of resignation, the necessity of fulfilling her relative duties to society, and especially those implanted in the maternal bosom.

“Woman, the sweet enchantress ! given to cheer  
The fitful struggles of our passage here ;  
In pity to our sorrows, sent to show  
The earlier joys of Paradise below ;  
With matron love, and matron duty, pour  
Her gentle influence on our evening hour,  
When the world-wearied spirit longs to rest  
Its throbbing temples on her sheltering breast.  
Woman, whose tear, whose glance, whose touch, whose sigh,  
Can wrap us in despair, or ecstasy !

With untold hope, and passion's nameless thrill,  
 Refine our raptures, bid our cares be still ;  
 With Love's sweet arts the gloom of Woe dispel,  
 Bid in our breast returning transport swell ;  
 Cling round our soul, the rising fiend destroy,  
 And lead to Virtue, by the path of Joy."

ANON.

The Indian women, especially the high castes of Hindoos, have their peculiar virtues ; delicate, retired, and feminine. On the present journey, as well as on the preceding one, not only in the English districts, but those belonging to other governments, the women drew water at the public wells for ourselves, our servants, and cattle, while others presented us with butter, milk, vegetables, fruit, and flowers. However shy they may be reckoned in their general deportment to strangers, in my purgunnas I have often known them to exceed these stated duties of hospitality ; and have seen a woman of no mean rank, literally illustrate the conduct of an unfortunate princess in the Jewish history : "So Tamar went to her brother Amnon's house ; and she took flour and kneaded it, and made cakes in his sight ; and did bake the cakes ; and she took a pan, and poured them out before him."—2 Samuel, ch. xiii. ver. 8.

However decidedly some travellers may write on the Asiatic women, it is difficult to form a correct portrait of the high Mogul or Hindoo female character ; especially among the former. I have known English physicians sent for to the durbar at Cambay, and the palaces of other Mahomedans. The princes openly consulted them on their real and imaginary complaints ; they generally entertain a high opinion of their medical skill, are fond of conversing upon the subject, and

enumerating their disorders. Their attendance was not confined to the male sex ; the ladies often requested a visit (for an interview it cannot be called) in the harem ; whither the physician was conducted by eunuchs and duennas, and attended a patient for many days, without ever seeing her. On entering the ladies' apartments, he was led into a saloon, separated from the interior chambers by a thick curtain, falling from the ceiling to the floor, the whole breadth of the room ; this curtain had a small aperture in the centre, like those in front of a theatre, through which the patient put her arm, that the physician might feel the pulse, and form some sort of conclusion for a prescription : but he was not permitted any further intercourse with the secluded ladies.

In describing the Indian Mahomedans on another occasion, I gave the sentiments of a very intelligent writer on those in the Nizam's country : what he says on the female character in that class of oriental society, is too pertinent to be omitted. " In retracing the various subjects of a cursory sketch of Mahomedan manners, there is one circumstance likely to strike the curious reader, namely, that refinement of manners should be found among a people whose customs entirely preclude women from any participation in society. A popular opinion has long prevailed in Europe that mankind are chiefly indebted for the improvement of ferocious and uncouth manners to the endearing society of the more amiable sex, as well as to the refinement arising from the introduction of chivalry ; yet, in contradiction to this supposition, we learn from history that the institutions of chivalry are unknown in India, or in the countries from whence

the Mahomedan conquerors of India originated. We also know from the same source, that the exclusion of women from the mixed society of men, obtained more or less in Asia prior to the introduction of the Mahomedan religion. Indeed, though the Mahomedan doctrine has been supposed extremely adverse to the fair sex by Europeans, it will be found that the women of Arabia are peculiarly indebted to the precepts of the Koran for the abolition of a horrid custom, then prevalent among the Arabs, of frequently condemning to death their female offspring, as useless for the purposes of war. And here it may not be extraneous to make some mention of a religion whose dictates have caused so extraordinary a separation in society between the two sexes; an institution the more singular, as arising from the lubrications of a man whose devotion to the sex placed the eternal happiness of the Faithful in the perpetual enjoyment of bliss in the arms of celestial beauties; who, like their mortal sisters, are equally condemned to retirement in the next world; where Mahomed represents the charming black-eyed girls of Paradise to be created of pure musk, and possessing the most rigid sentiments of modesty, as secluded from the rest of the heavenly host in sacred groves, or enshrined in pavilions of hollow pearl of vast extent. Though this indeed particularly alludes to the *Hur Al Ayun*, or Hource, an immortal race created for the solace of true believers; yet to prove, with many other passages of the Koran, that women have not been banished these celestial abodes, the Faithful are permitted to send for their former loves; who, clothed in robes of heavenly texture, and crowned with resplendent pearls, will wander in the fragrant bowers of

Paradise, enjoying the unfading bloom of eternal youth. But, to descend from the extatic raptures of the amorous prophet to his earthly institutions, we may, in the Mahomedan mode of life, partly trace the views of its ambitious founder. Designing his disciples for the founders of a new and splendid empire, he wished the whole energy of the human soul to be collected in that one great design ; and that, inspired with enthusiasm, his followers might, without interruption, pursue a steady course in the arduous and dangerous paths of politics and war. Yet the strong impulse of nature warned the Prophet, like a secret monitor, that intellectual food alone was insufficient for beings compounded of soul and body. Convinced of this, he only followed, without knowing it, the example of Zeno, Epicurus, and Aristotle, by adapting his system and religion to his own temperament and inclinations. Love and dominion were the passions of the Prophet, so he determined they should go hand in hand ; and resolved that the diet and beverage of his disciples should neither impair the vigour of the body nor the faculties of the mind. But, as the frailty of human nature had ordained repose both to the statesman and hero, he contrived that the allurements of pleasure should not interrupt the hours of business, and that women should be the solace of mankind only in the hours of retirement and relaxation, without superadding to the toils of public life the anxiety and perturbation of the absent lover. For, however dull and inanimate society may appear to the votaries of pleasure, deprived of this genial source of all our delights, yet the philosopher and statesman, viewing pleasure as a secondary motive, may think

the exclusion of women an advantage to the cold system of wisdom and policy, *Nam fuit ante Helenam belli teterrima causa amor* ; which the subsequent ages of the world have, and do confirm.

From Brodera and Meah Gaum, we travelled westward, through the Jamboseer and Ahmood purgunnas. Having already described those districts and their respective capitals, I shall not resume the subject. Almost every part of the Brodera purgunna evinced its former beauty, in topes of mango and tamarind trees, tastefully planted near mosques, mausoleums, and other remains of Mogul splendour, now in a state of dilapidation. The abundance of game in this country, and especially of wild peacocks in the woodlands, is astonishing : every village seems to have an appropriate share of these birds in the surrounding groves. There, as in the Dhuboy districts, peacocks and monkeys are protected, and allowed an ample share of grain in the cullies, or farm-yards. The peafowl in other parts of the country, secluded from the haunts of men, subsist, no doubt, upon wild fruits, insects, and reptiles, which every where abound, especially of the coluber tribe ; for although, like the rest of the species, the pea-fowl of Guzerat are granivorous, they are also very fond of serpents, and devour them whenever they have an opportunity. The natives are still more obliged to the sahras, stork, crane, and many other graminivorous and aquatic birds, for the destruction of those enemies, which they swallow with great avidity. And as the snake devours poultry and animals of various descriptions, ten times larger than itself, so the peacock contrives to swallow a ser-

pent of almost incredible magnitude; even the cobra-di-capello, and others of a poisonous nature.

The cobra-di-capello, or coluber naja, is as common in Guzerat as in many parts of Hindostan. At Dhuboy they were of the largest size, and generally of a paler colour than those in the Concan, occasioned perhaps by the contrast; the hood of those in Guzerat appears more brilliant, and the black and white marks in the spectacles more distinct, than in the darker kind at Bombay.

I have frequently found very large skins of these serpents, perfect, and of great beauty, in caverns and thick bushes, in different parts of India; particularly in the caves of Salsette and Elephanta, where they are very abundant.

In Mr. Boag's account of the serpents at Bombay, it appears that Gmelin's *Systema Naturæ* describes two hundred and nineteen different kinds of snakes, of which, according to Linnaeus, only one in ten are poisonous; and many of these are not poisonous to man, though they may be destructive to lesser animals. "The most certain indication to be depended on, is the large canine teeth or fangs fixed in the upper jaw, which are commonly two in number, but sometimes more. These teeth are covered with a membranous sheath, and are crooked, moveable, and hollow, to give passage to the venom, which they receive from a small reservoir that runs along the palate of the mouth, and passes through the body of each fang. This reservoir contains only a small quantity of venom, which is forced out of it when the animal attempts to bite by a strong muscle fixed in

the upper jaw for that purpose. It has been well observed by Linnæus, that if nature has thrown them naked on the ground, destitute of limbs, and exposed to every misery, she has in return supplied them with a deadly poison, the most terrible of all weapons!

“On procuring a large cobra-di-capello with the venomous teeth and poison-bag entire, it was made to bite a young dog in the hind leg, for which no medicine was made use of. The dog upon being bit howled violently for a few minutes; the wounded limb soon became paralytic; in ten minutes the dog lay senseless and convulsed; in thirteen minutes he was dead. A dog of a smaller size, and younger, was bitten in the hind leg, when he was instantly plunged into a warm nitre bath prepared on purpose. The wound was scarified, and washed with the solution of lunar caustic, while some of it was poured down his throat. The dog died in the same time, and with the same symptoms as the former. After an interval of one day, the same snake was made to bite a young puppy in the hind leg; but above the part bitten a ligature was previously tied: the wound was scarified and treated as the other. This dog did not seem to feel any other injury than that arising from the ligature round his leg. Half an hour after being bitten the ligature and dressing were removed: the dog soon began to sink, breathed quick, grew convulsed, and died.

“The symptoms which arise from the bite of a serpent, are commonly pain, swelling, and redness in the part bitten; great faintness, with sickness at the stomach, and sometimes vomiting, succeed: the breathing becomes short and laborious, the pulse



low, quick, and interrupted. The wound, which was at first red, becomes livid, black, and gangrenous ; the skin of the wounded limb, and sometimes of the whole body, takes a yellow hue ; cold sweats and convulsions come on ; and the patient sinks, sometimes in a few hours, but commonly at the end of two, three, or four days. This is the usual progress when the disease terminates fatally ; but happily the patient will most commonly recover. A reflection which should moderate the fears of those who happen to be bitten by snakes ; and which, at any rate, should, as much as possible, be resisted ; as the depressing passion of fear will in all cases assist the operation of the poison."

Paley, in his *Natural Theology*, marking the attention of the Creator to the three great kingdoms in the animal creation, quadrupeds, birds, and fishes, and to their constitution as such, introduces the fang of a poisonous serpent as a clear and curious example of mechanical contrivance in the great Author of nature. It is a perforated tooth, loose at the root ; in its quiet state lying down flat upon the jaw, but furnished with a muscle, which, with a jerk, and by the pluck, as it were, of a string, suddenly crects it. Under the tooth, close to its root, and communicating with the perforation, lies a small bag, containing the venom. When the fang is raised, the closing of the jaw presses its root against the bag underneath ; and the force of this compression sends out the fluid with a considerable impetus through the tube in the middle of the tooth. What more unequivocal, or effectual apparatus could be devised for the double purpose of at once inflicting the wound, and injecting the poison ?

Yet, though lodged in the mouth, it is so constituted, as, in its quiescent state, not to interfere with the animal's ordinary office of receiving its food. It has been observed also, that none of the harmless serpents have these fangs, but teeth of an equal size; not moveable, as this is, but fixed into the jaw.

I believe very few of the water-snakes have these fangs, or are in any degree venomous. In this family is a great variety; some very large, especially those in soundings on the Malabar coast. Many in the Guzerat lakes are of beautiful colours; and their predatory pursuits are extremely curious. They watch the frogs, lizards, young ducks, water rats, and other animals, when reposing on the leaves of the lotus, or sporting on the margin of a lake, and at a favourable opportunity seize their prey, and swallow it whole, though often of a circumference much larger than themselves. These, in their turn, become food to the larger aquatic fowl, which frequent the lakes; who also swallow them, and their contents, entire: thus it sometimes happens that a large duck not only gulps down the living serpent, but one of its own brood still existing in its maw. Standing with some friends on the side of a tank, watching the manœuvres of these animals, we saw a Muscovy drake swallow a large snake, which had just before gorged itself with a living prey. The drake came on shore to exercise himself in getting down the snake, which continued for some hours working within the bird's craw; who seemed rather uneasy at its troublesome guest. It is therefore most probable there were three different creatures alive at the same time in this singular connection. The serpent swallows small animals alive

without much suction or bruising, and a living frog is frequently found within the snake's stomach. How long the frog continues alive within the serpent, and the serpent within the bird, I cannot say, as the digestive faculties of the stomach may vary in different animals.

We know that the ostrich swallows stones, iron, and similar substances; the shark voraciously devours carpenters' tools, pieces of wood, clasp-knives, and thick ropes, that fall from the ship; and I repeat that the peacocks and aquatic fowl of Guzerat prey upon living serpents, and small reptiles of every description. I mentioned this propensity in the falco serpentarius, or secretary-bird, in the menagerie at the Cape of Good Hope.

The little district belonging to the Meah Gaum Rajah afforded neither novelty nor interest; but on entering the Jamboseer purgunna, which had then been several years in the Company's possession, we observed a visible alteration in the agriculture, population, and cheerfulness of the villages. In one considerable tract near the confines of the fertile Brodera district, we witnessed a mournful scene, occasioned by a different scourge: a flight of locusts had some time before alighted in that part of the country, and left behind them an awful and striking contrast to the general beauty of this earthly paradise. The sad description of Joel was literally realized. "That which the palmer-worm hath left, hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left, hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the canker-worm hath left, hath the caterpillar eaten. They have laid waste the vine, and barked the fig-tree; they have made it clean bare, and the branches thereof are made white: the pomegranate-tree, the

palm-tree also, and the apple-tree, even all the trees of the field, are withered. Howl, O ye husbandmen! for the wheat and for the barley; because the harvest of the field is perished. How do the beasts groan! the herds of cattle are perplexed, because they have no pasture; yea, the flocks of sheep are made desolate!"—Joel, ch. i. ver. 4, 7, 11, 12, 18.

I am no judge of this distinction in the caterpillar tribe; neither can I discriminate the different companies in a host of locusts: all are destructive, and equally dreaded by the peasants. In the forest scenery on this excursion, we saw many beautiful varieties in the mantis, cicada, and papilio tribes; especially among those curious, but ravenous insects, called the creeping-leaf. The tough sugar-canes, luxuriant juarree, and strongest oil-plants, had fallen a sacrifice to the host of locusts, in the Brodera purgunna: even the large mowah trees did not escape their ravage. The madhuca, or mowah tree, abounds in this part of Guzérat, and a great quantity of mowah-arack is distilled in the Brodera villages. This pernicious distillery is encouraged by the Indian princes on account of the revenue; although, like a similar mischief in a more civilized country, the deleterious effects of this intoxicating spirit are too visible among the lower classes of society. In Brodera they also distil a strong spirit from the sugar cane, and the molasses, or jaggaree, it produces.

Sugar, and spirits distilled from sugar, have been known in India from time immemorial. Sir William Jones proves the Institutes of Menu to have been promulgated at least twelve hundred years before the Christian æra. Those laws particularly prohibit

spirits to the Brahmins; whether extracted from the dregs of sugar, from rice, and from the flowers of the madhuca.

In most of the Guzerat villages, and in every part of India where I travelled, are usually one or more potters, who manufacture pots, dishes, and other utensils, from the argillaceous earth: these are turned by the wheel, with the usual simplicity of oriental artificers. Some of the superior workmen manufacture idols, in the Hindoo mythology, of clay, baked and painted, in imitation of those formed of prepared rice, alabaster, and different metals, which were annually imported to a considerable amount at the Baroche Phoorza, when I was custom-master at that settlement; and transported from thence into the interior of Guzerat and Malwa. At the Baroche Phoorza I frequently purchased specimens of Ganesa, and other Hindoo deities, on a small scale, both in rice and alabaster: and the Brahmins at Dhuboy liberally and kindly superintended the silversmith, who made me a set of images, cast in tuthenaque, or Chinese white copper, with the ornaments and utensils of the temple, in gold and silver, of a reduced size. A particular part of the bed of the Nerbudda, not far from Chandode, as also some places at a greater distance in that river, were famous for producing stones exactly resembling the idol appropriated for the worship of Seva. They are formed into this shape by the action of the water, and on that account are deemed particularly holy by the Brahmins in the sect of Seva.

The general velocity of the Nerbudda, where the stream is confined to a narrow channel, occasions the friction of the stones to produce a great variety of

forms, consequently some of the shapes alluded to. Those are all produced in the upper parts of the river ; for its bed, in the Baroche and Zinore districts, is entirely of mud, clay, or sand ; not the smallest pebble is to be met with. Like most rivers in Hindostan, the Nerbudda overflows its banks in the rainy season, when its limits are confined ; a number of large trees and animals are then brought down by the floods from the mountains : some of the former different from those in the plans of Guzerat. These floods seem to be very little influenced by the rain which falls on the plains ; they are always occasioned by mountain torrents. There certainly is not so great a fall of rain during the wet season in Guzerat as on the island of Bombay, and the southern parts of the Malabar coast ; where the periodical rains generally commence and terminate at the same period, as we experienced at Surat and Baroche. The falls of rain are unequal for almost four months, but the largest quantity always falls in July. From a calculation made and published, it appears that on the island of Bombay, for eight successive years, from 1780, the general average of rain in July, was twenty-two inches, and the most that fell in any one day was six inches. The quantity of rain which fell in each of those years at Bombay, being thus ascertained, may serve as an estimate for ten degrees of latitude, from  $10^{\circ}$  to  $20^{\circ}$  on the west side of the Gaut mountains :—

	<i>Inches.</i>
From July 4th, to October 14th, 1780 . .	53 4
From June 14th, to October 14th, 1781 . .	71 5
From May 28th, to October 5th, 1782 . .	51 8
From June 1st, to October 4th, 1783 . .	73
From June 6th, to October 6th, 1784 . .	47 5
From May 29th, to October 27th, 1785 . .	70 2
From June 12th, to October 12th, 1786 . .	74
From June 11th, to October 12th, 1787 . .	70 4
	<hr/>
General average	63 96

## CHAPTER XI.

Cession of the English Purgunnas in Guzerat to the Mahrattas and Mahdajee Sindia, at the Peace in 1783—Sorrow of the Inhabitants of Baroche, and their behaviour on giving it up to the Mahratta Governor—Noble behaviour of the Inhabitants of Dhuboy on the report of its being restored to the Mahrattas—Present of Hindoo Images brought to England—Events of the day on which Dhuboy was to have been delivered up to the Mahratta Pandit—Paper presented by the Elders of Dhuboy, stating their Happiness under the English Government, and their Misery at its being withdrawn—Divination of the Gracia Soothsayers—Departure from Dhuboy—Attack of the Gracias on my Escort—My narrow Escape from the Ambuscade—Poisons among the Ancients—Another Scheme of the Gracias frustrated.

I now enter upon the painful subject of my last letter from India; it was written from Bombay at the end of the year 1783, when I had taken a final leave of Baroche, Dhuboy, and all the interesting scenes in Guzerat. They then no longer belonged to the English: the British flag, the security of liberty and property in that delightful province, no more waved on her ramparts, and the peasants on her luxuriant plains were abandoned to Mahratta despotism. Ill-fated people, who only experienced the mildness of our



laws, and tasted the sweets of freedom, to find the cup of slavery more bitter!

I shall not discuss the oriental politics at that period. The East India Company had been engaged for several years in an expensive war with the Mahrattas, and Hyder Ally Khan, the two most formidable powers in Hindostan. In the beginning of 1783 the Supreme Government of Bengal concluded a treaty of peace with the Peshwa of the Mahrattas, through the mediation of Mhadajee Sindia, one of the great sirdars, or chieftains, of the empire.

By this treaty, among the purgunnas in Guzerat ceded to the Mahrattas, were those of Dhuboy, Zinore, and the other districts under my jurisdiction; which I was directed to surrender to such officer as might be deputed by the Mahratta state to receive them, agreeably to the terms of the treaty.\*

At the same time the Chief and Council of Baroche were ordered by the Governor and Council at Bombay to deliver up that important city and its valuable purgunna, to Bascar Row, agent for Mhadajee Sindia; to whom it had been presented by the Governor-General and Supreme Council of Bengal, "in testimony of the sense which they entertained of the generous conduct manifested by the said Mhadajee Sindia, to the government of Bombay, at Wargaum, in January 1779; and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen, who had been delivered as hostages on that occasion." These were the reasons assigned by the

\* All the possessions of Mhadajee Sindia, Holcar, &c. in the province of Malwa, have since the year 1818 become British dependencies.—NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

Bengal government for making this valuable present to Mhadajee Sindia.

The inhabitants of Baroche, accustomed to the lenity of British jurisdiction, execrated the approaching change, and dreaded the arrival of Bascar Row, which had been delayed in consequence of a mistaken renewal of hostilities on the Malabar coast; the people of Baroche, in the mean time, indulged a vain hope that the intended cession would not take place. No prayers, no ceremonies, no sacrifices, were left unperformed by the different castes, and religious professions, to implore the continuance of the British Government. It is with extreme satisfaction I recollect the unfeigned sorrow which pervaded all ranks of society when the fatal day was fixed for our departure. Baroche, before its conquest by the English, had belonged to the Moguls, and was governed by a Mahomedan nabob; the inhabitants well knew the difference that awaited them. Of all oriental despots, the arbitrary power of the Mahratta falls perhaps with the most oppressive weight; they extort money by every kind of vexatious cruelty, without supporting commerce, agriculture, and the usual sources of wealth and prosperity in well-governed states. The Mahomedans, although equally fond of money, spend it with more liberality, encourage useful and ornamental works, and patronize art and science.

On the ninth of July, 1783, the day appointed for the cession of Baroche to Mhadajee Sindia, the chief and council received his agent, Bascar Row, with proper ceremony in the durbar, and there delivered to him the keys of the city-gates. We immediately repaired to the water side, to cross the Nerbudda in our

way to Surat, and were silently followed by the principal inhabitants of the city. While embarking on the Company's yacht, a dark cloud passed over us, and a shower of rain fell; our afflicted friends, no longer able to keep silence, and forgetting the impending terrors of a Mahratta despot, pathetically exclaimed, "These drops are the tears of Heaven for the fate of Baroche!"

I oppose this fact to a thousand unfounded prejudices, and unsupported calumnies, against the English, which were once so easily credited in Europe. Among the many who occupy eminent stations in India, some no doubt deserve censure. The characters of all who fill similar situations at home are not immaculate: the temptations of wealth and power sometimes subdue the strongest minds; but the hour approaches when they cease to charm, and when a "conscience void of offence" will be the only comfort. Whether the European or Indian peculator is now amenable to human laws or not, a secret monitor corrodes every present joy, and an unerring Judge hereafter will avenge the breach of His own laws, established in truth and equity! The general opprobrium was unjust on a set of men, whose prevailing characteristics were philanthropy, generosity, and benevolence.

The sympathizing tear which accompanied the drops from heaven on our leaving Baroche, was a public testimony that the natives preferred the British to an Asiatic government.

When it was publicly known that Dhuboy and its dependent purgunnas were to be given up to the Mahratta government, and the day approached which was fixed for my departure, a deputation from the

Brahmins and principal inhabitants visited me at the durbar, and sincerely condoled with me on the change of affairs. They offered presents, and were so hurt at my refusing any thing tendered for my acceptance, that I was at length induced to mention a gift which I could receive without conscientious scruples, if they could bestow it, which from delicacy alone I had not before asked. Expressing some surprise, and at the same time manifesting the greatest desire to oblige me, I told them, that as Dhuboy contained many remains of Hindoo antiquity, in broken columns, mutilated images, and remnants of basso-relievo scattered among dilapidated buildings in the city, I requested they would allow me to select a few of the smallest specimens from the exterior fragments, which I would bring with me to Europe, and erect a temple for their reception in my own garden. Their astonishment increased at this communication, and was followed by a solemn silence. They expressed no apprehension of my ridiculing their religion, but seemed anxious to know why a Christian wished to possess Hindoo idols. I found a little difficulty in convincing them of the general curiosity of Europeans, the gratification it would be to shew them those specimens of oriental sculpture, and the delightful association of my own ideas, when I should behold in my own country the precious relics transported from a distant spot endeared by a thousand tender recollections.

Their tears flowed when they requested to retire for a few hours, during which they would assemble the recluse religious Brahmins, and in a conclave consider the first request of the kind which they had ever heard of. They returned the next morning with counte-

nances indicating mingled sensations of regret at my approaching departure, and of delight at having it in their power to grant my request ; to which they acceded in the most liberal manner, desiring I would send my own people to select such specimens as I thought proper, and place them in a temple to Friendship in my own country. I did so ; and deputed some Hindoo workmen to collect such small images as I pointed out in the dilapidated walls of forsaken dewals, and from the exterior ornaments at the Gate of Diamonds, which in eight groups now adorn an octagon building, on my estate at Stanmore-hill, erected for that purpose, under a linden-grove on the margin of a lake profusely adorned by the *nymphaea lotos*, which, when its snowy petals and expanded foliage are gently agitated by the southern breeze, reminds me of the sacred tanks in Guzerat. Among these groups of Hindoo deities, several are sculptured on the *lotos*, according with the fictions in that mythology.

The 25th of April was the time appointed for the cession of Dhuboy to the Mahratta Pundit, agreeably to the treaty entered into between the British and Poonah governments. I had received instructions to deliver up the keys of the fortress on that day to the Mahratta governor, to strike the British colours, and proceed to Baroche with the whole garrison. When the gates were shut the preceding evening, the pundit had not arrived, nor did he make his appearance on the morning fixed for my departure ; I therefore resolved to leave the city in charge of the commanding officer of the Company's troops, until the Mahratta governor arrived.

On that eventful day the principal Hindoo and

Mahomedan inhabitants of Dhuboy assembled in the inner court of the durbar. Their behaviour indicated something uncommonly solemn and mysterious, and a horror in their countenance very much surprised me. At length an aged Brahmin with a few associates, came into the hall, and requested I would defer my departure to Baroche until the garrison and train of artillery proceeded with me, as that day was peculiarly unfortunate, and my journey would be attended with extreme danger. Knowing my incredulity respecting Brahminical prognostics and cabalistical tables, they added to their usual strain a prevailing report, that in consequence of the late treaty between the Company and the Mahrattas, by which the purgunnas under my charge were to be restored to the latter power, the Gracia chieftains had been for some time secretly convened at Mandwa, with a number of celebrated soothsayers, and having raised a large body of horse and foot, had resolved under the sanction of the *Mantra*, to cut me off or take me prisoner, on my return to Baroche.

The fact was, that the conquest of Mandwa and the captivity of the rajah's family, had struck a general terror among the Gracias, and my correspondence with the other chieftains accomplished every intended purpose without further bloodshed. They all sent ambassadors to Dhuboy, entered into treaties, and engaged the most respectable Bhauts to become security for their performance. The Gracias would probably have adhered to these terms, had the English power continued in Guzerat, but finding they were to withdraw their forces and lose their influence in that part India, they determined to break the treaty; and

indignant at the capture of a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable, and enraged against the author of their disgrace, they vowed revenge; having entered into a secret combination to effect their purpose, they raised troops, and laid plans for my destruction, on my final journey from Dhuboy to Baroche.

To communicate this report of the Gracias' determination was one cause of the affectionate visit from the Brahmins and elders of Dhuboy on the day of my departure; the other, which also sprung from attachment and gratitude on their part, produced sensations on mine which I never can forget.

“ All fame is foreign but of true desert,  
Plays round the head, but comes not near the heart;  
One self-approving hour whole years outweighs  
Of stupid starers, and of loud huzzas!”

After having apprized me of the impending danger, and vainly urged the procrastination of my journey, they presented me with an address they had just composed in the Hindoo language, translated into Persian by the durbar munsee, written on paper spotted with silver and flowered with gold, which is preserved with the original drawings and manuscripts from whence these volumes are compiled. The whole transaction filled me with ineffable delight, nor would I part with this token of their regard for all the gems of Golconda.

The following translation is divested of some lofty metaphors and hyperbolical compliments, which, though well intended, were too flattering for the performance of official duty, and my sincere endeavours to render them happy. I introduce it with the

greatest diffidence, as an unexpected and affectionate tribute from a grateful people, the last hour I saw them, when they could not expect another benefit from my hands. I insert it also with peculiar pleasure, because it so strongly militates against those illiberal sentiments once entertained against the British character in India, and affords an additional evidence of honourable feeling and attachment, opposed to many instances of ingratitude, oppression, and cruelty, by the zemindars and higher powers in Hindostan, inserted in preceding chapters.

*Translation of the Persian Address from the Inhabitants of Dhuboy, to the English Collector, on the morning of his final departure.*

ALLA!

“Thou conferrest power and greatness on the sons of men, according to thy pleasure: by Thee the nations of the earth are created; their kings and rulers are ordained by Thee!

“Dhuboy, famed among the cities of the east, was happy when this English sirdar presided in her durbar; his disposition towards the inhabitants was with the best consideration. He afforded shelter to all, whether they were rich or poor; he delivered them from trouble and restored them to comfort. All castes who looked up to him obtained redress, without distinction and without price. When he took the poor by the hand he made him rich: under his protection the people were happy, and reposed on the bed of ease. When he superintended the garden, each gardener performed his duty; rills of water flowed to



every flower, and all the trees in the garden flourished. So equal was his justice, that the tiger and the kid might drink at the same fountain; and often did he redeem the kid from the tiger's mouth. Under his administration the rich dared not to oppress the poor: for his eyes were open on the great and small!

“In this country we have not known any government so upright as that of the English:—Alas! if our protector forsakes us we shall be disconsolate as a widow: we shall mourn the loss of a father, and weep as for the death of a mother!—ALLA! in thy mercy continue him to us!”

Our mutual feelings on this occasion are easier conceived than described. After a short interval the superior Brahmin requested I would retire with him and my linguist into a private room. He then renewed his entreaties that I should remain in Dhuboy until the garrison marched to Baroche, representing the danger which awaited me as immediate and otherwise unavoidable. He informed me the diviners had again been convened by the Gracia chieftains; they had again taken up their parables, pronounced the mantra, and doomed me to destruction. Secret as they had endeavoured to keep their machinations, some had transpired; and he produced not only oral reports, but written proofs of their intentions.

My venerable friend sincerely lamented my incredulity, assuring me the holy writings of the Brahmins, and their constant experience in these matters, established the truth of his assertions; that the *mantra*, or malediction from the Brahminical soothsayers and diviners, was not to be slighted. It was dreaded

throughout Hindostan, not only by Hindoos but Mahomedans; and even some of my own countrymen paid attention to the predictions and incantations of the Brahmins, and were in some measure guided by their calculations. This I knew to be true in more than one instance, although it had no effect upon me.

This mantra is explained in the Hindoo Pantheon to be an imprecatory incantation, generally composed of a passage from the Veda, in which the name of some tremendous deity occurs. The following passage from the Ramayana will exemplify this; and, with those who have faith in such works, affords a sufficient reason to fear the effects of such curses—“ Even he who cannot be slain by the ponderous arms of Indra, nor by those of Kali, nor by the terrible *Chackra* of Vishnoo, shall be destroyed if a Brahmin curse him, as if he were consumed by fire.”

It would be difficult to convey an idea to the English reader of the surprise and horror which prevailed throughout the durbar when the mantra was explained. My Mahomedan and Parsee servants seemed to be as much affected as the Hindoos.

Superstition, when once diffused through the world, oppressed the souls of almost the whole human race, and fixed itself upon the weakness of our nature.

With people thus bigotted, and subject to such laws and usages, it was of no avail to argue. In vain I opposed to the divination of the seers the solemn treaties lately entered into, and the binding security of the Bhauts, given by the Mandwa rajah and Gracia chieftains; my Dhuboy friends remained immovable in their superstitious belief, and were more concerned than offended at my incredulity. Having however

been informed that Ryjee Sihng, the principal Bhaut of Scrulah, and one of their principal securities, was then in Dhuboy, to convince my friends that I did not entirely despise their counsel, I deviated a little from my first plan, and desiring him to be called, I directed him to get ready immediately and accompany me on horseback beyond the bed of a river in the wild country, between the Dhuboy and the Baroche purgunnas, a woody tract of Zinore, intersected by gullies and ravines, the haunt of wild beasts and *Bheel* robbers. This spot had been pointed out as the intended scene of action; and appearing so well adapted for an ambuscade, I resolved to pass it before the close of day. In all former journeys from Dhuboy to Baroche, a distance of fifty miles, I had, to avoid the heat of the day, generally set off about five in the afternoon, and arrived at Baroche early the next morning. I now resolved to commence my journey three hours sooner: and, accompanied by the Scrulah Bhaut, left the durbar at two, instead of five o'clock. We halted a short time in a grove without the city gates, waiting for my servants and palanquin-bearers, who were to follow with my escritoire, with a few papers and valuables, under the escort of an Indian cavalry officer. I left my linguist and upper servant at the durbar to come with the records and larger packages when the garrison marched to Baroche.

During this halt, with a mind more oppressed by sorrow at leaving the place than from any idea of danger on the journey, I wrote the following lines with a pencil; they contain the extempore effusions of a heart contending with many mingled sensations arising from my peculiar situation.

Dhuboy, farewell! farewell ye ancient towers,  
 Ye peaceful lakes, ye consecrated bowers!  
 Where studious Brahmins, skill'd in mystic lore,  
 Avatars, Vedas, Menu's laws explore :  
 Where pious priests attend on Vishnoo's shrine,  
 And ruthless Seeva claims the rite divine ;  
 While Brahma's choral songs are heard no more ;  
 Too great a god for mortals to adore.

Too great? ah mournful thought for human woe!  
 Best solace lost, that mortals e'er can know !  
 Not so the Christian's lore, my country's creed ;  
 Our God is present help in time of need :  
 Though his great attributes, beyond our scan,  
 Yet is he Father to his offspring Man !  
 Though glory, majesty, and light his throne,  
 The earth his footstool, and the world his own ;  
 Though seraphs' tongues loud hallelujahs raise,  
 And heavenly hosts, unnumbered, hymn his praise,  
 Amidst the songs of angels, pray'r ascends  
 From mortal lips, and with that incense blends.  
 The secret sigh, the penitential tear,  
 Receive a blessing from the God we fear :  
 His awful terrors veil'd from human eyes,  
 'Tis mercy gilds the Christian's opening skies !  
 From them did Bethlehem's star illumine the night ;  
 From them the Dove celestial wing'd her flight ,  
 From them, the holy benediction came,  
 Proclaiming Christ, the great Immanuel's name :  
 From them the Gospel light on thee shall shine ;  
 And give thy country day, as bright as mine.  
 Thy delegated Triad then shall fail,  
 And One Eternal Father thou shalt hail !  
 To Him the Brahmin proud shall bend the knee,  
 And outcast Pooleah from his chains be free .  
 The differing castes shall cease ignoble strife,  
 And poor Chandalas eat the Bread of Life.  
 " With him no high, no low, no great, no small,"  
 His mercy and his love extend to all,

Who meekly humble hear the shepherd's voice,  
And wisely make his heavenly fold their choice.

One lustre scarce has swell'd the stream of Time,  
Since Britain conquer'd in this favour'd clime;  
Since Freedom here her valued blessings pour'd,  
And British laws and British rights procur'd:  
Ah! now no more ye boast so mild a sway,  
To despots doom'd an unresisting prey;  
The day is fix'd that brings oppression dire,  
And bids your mantling hopes and joys expire.

How short our triumph o'er this wide domain!  
No honour'd vestige of our wars remain,  
From Ahmed's splendid fanes and regal bow'rs,  
To towns far distant on the Concan shores.  
This spacious tract obey'd our mild command,  
And British freedom bless'd a grateful land.

O sad reverse! these fair luxuriant plains,  
Where Nature smiles, and golden Plenty reigns,  
Where numerous flocks and herds adorn the meads,  
And fruitful harvests wave their varied heads;  
Where Nerbudda, majestic, rolls her tide,  
And streams of lesser note pellucid glide;  
Where stately castles, royal cities rise,  
And fanes and minars glad the pilgrim's eyes.  
Where cheerful villages and groves serene,  
In beauty deck the bright expansive scene;  
All these must feel Oppression's iron rod,  
And bow, reluctant, to a tyrant's nod.  
A stern Mahratta's power too soon must own,  
And Freedom quit her Asiatic throne:  
Your haughty rulers now again return,  
Towns, cities, villages,—submissive, mourn!

Oppression! mighty foe of human kind!  
Thy cruel deeds to darkness are confin'd:  
No sun-beams play around thy gloomy form,  
No council wise averts the gather'ng storm:

Thy giant arms extend a lengthen'd chain,  
 And captive nations feel its rankling pain :  
 Before thy lurid glare their courage dies,  
 And Hope expiring seeks her native skies:  
 Thy breath destroys the fairest fruits on earth,  
 And Nature's tears bewail thy direful birth.

Ye Bhauts ! the oral bards of Indian climes,  
 Like Europe's minstrels in the feudal times,  
 'Tis yours to praise the chieftain's mighty deed,  
 And give the hero glory's deathless meed ;  
 'Tis yours to raise, or melt, the human heart,  
 By all the fervours of the tuneful art ;  
 'Tis yours to fill the void of History's page,  
 And thus immortalize the passing age :  
 'Tis yours to blow the golden trump of fame,  
 And twine the laurel round each honoured name.

Ah ! when you chant the legendary tale,  
 In crowded cities, or the rural vale,  
 How will you mourn fair Freedom's transient reign !  
 Whilst list'ning tribes lament the dirgeful strain !  
 Lament her blessings wither'd in their bloom,  
 And nations suffering in her hasty doom !  
 When you relate, with strict historic truth,  
 These changing scenes, familiar to your youth,  
 The wondering crowd will scarce believe a theme,  
 Fill'd with events that seem a passing dream.

But, wrapt in visions of prophetic joy,  
 What bright'ning days in prospect you descry !  
 When clouds are vanish'd, and the sun appears  
 Resplendent, 'midst a nation's gloomy fears ;  
 When Freedom's voice shall hail your native land,  
 And bear again the olive in her hand ;  
 When she shall break the cruel tyrant's rod,  
 And, first of blessings ! shew the path to God !  
 When she shall leave Hindostan's realms no more,  
 But ransom'd hope, and promis'd bliss restore !—

Prophetic bards! these lofty visions sing,  
And Liberty from rising joy shall spring:  
The captive shall forget his ponderous chain,  
And join in chorus with the rapturous strain.

Dhuboy, farewell! thy gloomy change so near,  
For thee I drop the sympathetic tear!  
For thee I supplicate in silent pray'r,  
That thou ere long these heavenly gifts may share!

On the arrival of my palanquin and effects at the grove, I placed them under the care of the cavalry officer, and eighteen armed horsemen; and with the other six, the Bhaut security on horseback, and a little favourite slave boy behind the carriage, I commenced my journey with full four hours' day-light before us. I had previously sent off relays of bullocks; and travelling in a light hackarree, at the rate of five miles an hour, I passed through the wild country about sun-set, at least three hours sooner than usual. Not meeting with any molestation from the Gracias, and concluding the Brahmins had been misinformed, I dismissed the Bhaut, stopped a few hours to rest my people at the entrance of the Baroche purgunna, and reached home in safety early the next morning, when I related the late events at Dhuboy, and especially the prognostics of the Brahmins respecting the Gracias, as totally without foundation. But when some hours had elapsed, without tidings of my servants and effects, nor the appearance of a horseman, I became alarmed. My suspense was not of long duration, for on looking anxiously towards the road, I saw a sort of funeral procession moving towards our garden-house, accompanied by the yells of female mourners, more dismal than any I had ever heard. It consisted of a mingled

group of Mahomedans, Hindoos, and Parsees, a sight very unusual at an Indian funeral. There was a Mahomedan mosque and burying-ground near our villa, which they passed, and moved on immediately towards the garden gate. We now distinguished several different biers; on the foremost lay the headless body of my cavalry officer, followed by the violent exclamations of Mahomedan women. Another set brought the dead body of a Parsee servant, almost cut to pieces: others carried dead and wounded Hindoos of different descriptions, on the village cots. These they placed in the garden under our front veranda, and immediately renewed their dreadful lamentations.

When we could obtain silence, I learnt from the survivors, that about an hour after I crossed the bed of the river, my people and effects arrived at the fatal spot, where they were suddenly surrounded by upwards of three hundred armed Gracias, on horseback, and four hundred on foot, who immediately attacked my small party with the most savage barbarity, cut down the cavalry officer, killed a Parsee servant and several of my attendants, and wounded many more. Elated with his success, and intoxicated by opium and bhang, their ferocious chieftains called loudly for the English sirdar, vehemently demanding when I should arrive from Dhuboy. My faithful people told them I had passed long before, and was then in the Baroche purgunna, far beyond their reach; although, travelling at the slow pace of oxen, I could not have been three miles distant. Thus disappointed, they renewed their insults, and frantic with bhang, committed further cruelty before they decamped with their plunder, consisting of horses, arms, my palanquin, sword, and



some valuable effects ; leaving the dead and wounded men on the spot, where they had fallen a sacrifice themselves, but would not betray their master.

The sight of the dead bodies and the accompanying lamentations, announced the first tidings of this fatal catastrophe. I have no language to express my feelings on this occasion. Tacitus, eminent for sublime conceptions and pathetic description, aids my recollection by a scene of far greater importance.

*“ Non tumultus, non quies ; sed quale magni metus, et magnæ iræ, silentium est.”*

*“ It was not a tumult, it was not quietness ; it was the silence of terror, and of indignation.”* TACITUS.

Never can I forget the vociferation and exertion of the hired mourners in this melancholy procession ; it had some resemblance to the howl at an Irish funeral ; but so many imprecations and maledictions were mingled with affectionate inquiries and pathetic eulogy, that it is difficult to say whether curses or blessings most predominated : nor, in their phrenzy, was it easy to distinguish whether the execrations were entirely applied to the murderers, or to the innocent cause of the disaster.

The noisy processions, and various ceremonies performed by the relations and hired mourners for the murdered cavalry officer, continued at stated hours for several days.

A person of consequence in Guzerat, well informed of the Gracias' intentions, told me, that although in the first onset they killed and wounded so many of my people, they had resolved not to destroy me at

that time, but to carry me alive to one of their fortresses in the distant hills, where I should indeed have been fed with the bread of adversity, and have drank the water of affliction. No friend would have known where I was, nor how to have obtained redress; the English had no longer any influence, and the Gracia chieftains acknowledge no superior. Their inaccessible castles upon the mountains baffle the tactics of civilized nations, and bid defiance to their experienced generals. Shakespeare's creative imagination could alone have depicted my melancholy situation.

“ ————— But in a fortress inaccessible,  
Amid the dungeon's melancholy gloom,  
I should have lost the creeping hours of time;  
Nor known what 'twas to pity, or be pitied !”

We are but too well acquainted with the cruelties inflicted by Asiatic despots, from the earliest annals to those recorded of the late tyrants of Mysore. The poisoned coffee, the crush of an elephant, or any kind of speedy death, is a merciful dispensation when compared with the refinements in cruelty often made use of by these adepts in human misery. A poison has been often administered to the ill-fated princes of the house of Timur, and prisoners of rank in Hindostan, which I should more have dreaded than the baneful cup, or the mute and bow-string: these speedily transmit the prisoner before the tribunal of a more merciful judge; but for the victim of imperial jealousy or revenge, certain poisonous drugs are mingled with his food, which by imperceptible degrees undermine his constitution, and deprive him of life in the course of a few days, a few weeks, or during a longer period

of months, and even of years, as may be most gratifying to the will of a capricious tyrant.

Shocking as these relations are, my imagination would have recurred to one mode of destruction still more dreadful. The wretched agents of these royal murderers have the art of infusing deleterious ingredients into the sustenance of the prisoner, which tends to destroy the mental faculties, and by a gradual progress of imbecility terminate in complete idiotism. This Dr. Fryer confirms by a very curious description of these state prisoners; who, on committing any offence which subjects them to this destiny, "are sent by the king's order to a place of punishment, where the keeper being informed of the heinousness of the crime, mingles for them a drink made of bhang: this at first they refuse; but on receiving the addition of some dutry, made from the deadly solanum, called poss, it makes them so foolishly mad, that after a week's taking, they crave it more than ever they nauseated. They are then brought into the inner lodgings of the house, where folding doors open upon delicious gardens, and apes, cats, dogs, and monkeys are their attendants; with whom they maintain their dialogues, exercising over them their humour of an assassin, usurper, miser, or what their genius led them to, whilst themselves. After this manner they are imprisoned during the king's pleasure; or he orders their cure to restore them to their senses again; which otherwise, after their spirits are tired by a restless appetite of doing, and in the meantime have not a suitable recruit, they linger by a lasting leanness into the shades, which alive they represented."

Such enervating drugs and deleterious potions were well known in ancient Rome. Numantina, the divorced wife of Plautius Sylvanus, a prætor of Rome, was accused of having distempered his brain by drugs and magic spells. Syanus procured a poison to destroy Drusus, which, operating as a slow corrosive, brought on the symptoms of a natural disorder. Piso, and his wife Plancina, were both accused of effecting the death of Germanicus by the same means. Martina, the confidante of Plancina, was notorious for her practices in this diabolical profession; and was sent for from Syria to Rome, to be tried with her employers for the murder of Germanicus; Claudia Pulchra, the friend of Agrippina, widow of Germanicus, was accused of an attempt to poison Tiberius by spells and incantations; and a case still more in point with the modern Asiatic poisons, is the conduct of the second Agrippina, the infamous mother of the infamous Nero, both the unworthy offspring of the virtuous Germanicus.

I formerly mentioned the cruel sheep-skin death, sometimes practised by the Mahrattas, which was not forgotten among the various tortures meditated against me by those merciless chieftains. Perhaps, after all, the misery of perishing by thirst in the torrid zone is one of the most dreadful deaths that can be inflicted.

Whether I was to have been taken off by poison, by hunger, or by thirst, is now of little consequence: my destruction was determined, and I escaped. When I reflect on this momentous crisis of my fate, I am naturally led into solemn and grateful contemplation. Near thirty years are elapsed, but the images are not effaced, and the retrospection creates sensations which

I cannot describe. I, who appeared to be the sole object of their revenge, came off unhurt. But their machinations did not end in the wilds of Zinore, that disappointment only increased their resentment, and engaged them in new stratagems.

On the civil and military establishments being withdrawn from Baroche and its dependant purgunnas, our family passed the rainy season at Surat, and, for some time, resided at an English garden-house, without the Veriow-gate, at some distance from the city walls. After living there a few weeks, we observed every evening several persons lurking under the garden hedges, and concealing themselves in the adjoining fields: being strangers in the country, we did not at first attend to them; but a constant repetition of such mysterious conduct at length excited suspicion. I was, at that time, extremely ill of a fever; and never left the house, except to walk in the garden, before sun-set, which was rather earlier than these persons generally appeared. As they seemed to be in pursuit of an object which eluded their vigilance, it at length occurred, that possibly they might be some kind of spies or agents employed by the Gracias to carry me off. On an investigation by the Surat police, this proved to be the fact; and Mr. Callander afterwards obtained certain intelligence of the plot by means of his correspondents in Guzerat. The Gracia rajah of Ahmoed informed him, that the Mandwa and Voloria chieftains had again summoned the soothsayers, and made sure of my capture. I was once more destined to a hill fortress, and the emissaries were to have been handsomely rewarded.

Finding their last plot discovered, the Gracia hire-

lings left the Surat districts ; but, from an apprehension of similar attempts, we immediately repaired to a house within the city. Having neither health nor spirits to encounter fresh difficulties, I embarked on the first vessel bound to Bombay, on the breaking up of the monsoon. Incantations and ceremonies were performed in the Hindoo temples, to propitiate Ganesa, the god of wisdom and policy, with other deities, in favour of Baroche. Similar supplications were offered up in the Mahomedan Musjids, and at the sacred fires of the Parsees. *They* speak highly in praise of British administration in India.

Charms, talismans, and magical ceremonies of various descriptions, were said to have been practised by different castes, in hopes of producing the same effect.

## CHAPTER XII.

Final Departure from Baroche—Arrival at Surat—Abolition of the Nabob's Authority—Consequent Happiness of Surat—Gloomy Aspect of the Company's Affairs in 1783—Effects of a dreadful Storm—Character of Avyar, a celebrated Female Philosopher—Pulparra—Introduction of Vaccination in India—Statement of Medical Practice in India—Arrival at Bombay—Excursion to the Islands of Salsette and Elephanta.

THE last chapter concluded with the evacuation of Baroche, Dhuboy, and all the valuable districts belonging to the East India Company in Guzerat. When the yacht on which the chief and council embarked from Baroche arrived on the southern banks of the Nerbudda, we had the mortification to behold the Mahratta flag waving over the ramparts. It was the first time the natives had witnessed that standard of oppression. Their tears and other expressions of sorrow on that sad occasion have been recorded; some of them accompanied us to Surat in hopes of procuring situations under the English Government, either there or at Bombay.

Thus were the civil and military servants on the Baroche establishment, obliged to leave that once happy settlement, in the midst of the rainy season, and to seek an asylum at Surat, until the navigation

opened to Bombay at the breaking up of the south-west monsoon in October. The three months now spent there afforded but little novelty or interest to a former description in 1772, and several subsequent visits.

The double government which had then existed in Surat, from the conclusion of the treaty entered into by the East India Company with the nabob's father, Moyen Odeen, in the middle of the eighteenth century, was attended with many inconveniences. The firmaun obtained at that time from the Mogul emperor vested the English Company with the government of Surat castle, and the command of the imperial fleet stationed at that emporium. It also gave them power to appoint a naib, or deputy, to the nabob, for the administration of affairs in that city. This mingled government of the English and nabob continued during the reign of Moyen Odeen, who died in 1763, and of his son Cootub Odeen, who filled that station during the whole of my residence in India, and died in 1790. Nizam Odeen succeeded his father in the nabobship, but the authority of the Mogul emperor being at that time dwindled to a name, this title was never confirmed by the court of Delhi. Nizam Odeen dying in 1799, the government of Bombay very properly interfered in the appointment of a successor, with a view of putting an end to tumults, confusion, and mischief, which on various occasions had molested the peace of Surat, occasioned by the exactions, oppressions, and corrupt administration in the nabob's durbar; especially in collecting the revenues and conducting the police of the city. This mal-administration had so often disturbed the happiness of the inhabitants, the walls and



fortifications were in such a defenceless state, for want of timely repairs, and the surrounding districts had been so often invaded on the nabob's quarrels with the Mahrattas, that it was evident the power of a Surat nabob, now no longer an officer of the Mogul emperor, was inadequate to this important situation.

After a full and clear arrangement between the Governor-General in council at Calcutta, and Nassar Odeen, the brother of the last deceased nabob, the Bombay government was authorized to conclude a new treaty with Nassar Odeen, and to constitute him nabob of Surat, under the protection of the English East India Company, on the following conditions, viz. That an offensive and defensive alliance should take place between the contracting parties; that the civil and military administration should be on the part of the Company; that the new nabob should be entitled to all the respect and distinctions of his predecessors, should have a suitable share of the revenue for his own expenses and those of his officers, and security for himself, his relations, and immediate servants, from the authority and process of the courts.

These conditions were acceded to, and a treaty concluded between Mr. Duncan, governor of Bombay (who went up to Surat for the purpose, in May 1800) and Nassar Odeen. In consequence of which, peace, good order, and happiness, under an equitable administration, have prevailed ever since in the city; her commerce and manufactures have increased, and the surrounding territory, placed in the hands of the Company, and freed from Mahratta depredations, has flourished surprizingly, under the protection of the British flag. After an ample provision for the nabob,

and deducting the charges of collection, the Company receive an annual revenue amounting to three lacs of rupees.

When the Baroche emigrants arrived at Surat in 1783, the Company's affairs were not very prosperous, either in India or Europe. In the latter the British nation had been at war with the French, Spaniards, Dutch, and Americans, and the Company lost many valuable ships. In the former, the recent peace with the Mahrattas had deprived the Bombay presidency of all its valuable possessions in Guzerat; the hostilities in which the English were engaged with Tippoo Sultan had been lately attended with disastrous consequences, especially in the recapture of Bednure, and the destruction and imprisonment of General Matthews, and the flower of the Bombay army. The forts of Onore and Mangalore on the Malabar coast, still held out against Tippoo's forces, but they were not expected to make a much longer stand against such superior power, when a prey to disease, and destitute of provisions, stores, and comfort of every description.

Thus gloomy was the general aspect of affairs on the western side of India. Compared with Bengal and Madras, the civil and military establishments at Bombay were always on a contracted scale; they were now much curtailed; the military from Baroche were stationed at the presidency, or ordered to the subordinate garrisons; but no compensations, nor place of employment, were offered to the civil servants exiled from Guzerat; not even a sufficient maintenance for gentlemen who had been from fifteen to thirty years in the Company's service. In this

dilemma, such as could accomplish it, resolved to settle their Indian concerns, and to embark for England by the first convenient opportunity. But in addition to other inconveniences, we were informed by our correspondents at Bombay, that the captains of the homeward-bound Indiamen demanded eight thousand rupees (1,000*l.*) for the passage of a single person, and fifteen thousand for that of a gentleman and his wife. This was certainly imposed upon the passengers by the last ship of that description which had sailed from Bombay; some families were now returning by the men of war ordered home in consequence of the general peace in Europe and America; and on our arrival at Bombay we were offered a passage on more moderate terms. The captain with whom we embarked for England received upwards of eighty thousand rupees, or ten thousand pounds sterling, for his homeward-bound passengers. One gentleman, distinguished for his liberality, gave five thousand guineas for the accommodation of his wife and family in this ship, besides an ample supply of Madeira wine, provisions, and delicacies for the table. This will be deemed a handsome compensation for five or six months board and lodging in any part of the world.

A great change had taken place at Surat during the last ten years. The splendour formerly kept up in the nabob's durbar, and the style of Mogul magnificence in which the principal Mahomedans lived on my first visit, seemed almost annihilated. Neither Hindoo nor Mahomedan pageantry now enlivened the public streets, and the war which had so long raged in Europe and India, affected the Asiatic commerce in

general, but was most sensibly felt at Surat. Her dock-yards, storckhouses, and bazars, indicated little of that life and spirit, formerly likened to the glowing picture of ancient Tyre; all was now comparatively silent and forsaken. The usual calamities of war had been heightened by the dreadful storm, which happened a year before on the western shores of India. The effects of its ravages at Baroche have been mentioned; at Surat it was still more tremendous. The tottering mansions of the Moguls, long out of repair, the slighter Hindoo houses, and the mud-built cottages of the lower classes, alike gave way, and buried many of their inhabitants in the ruins. Extensive parts of the outer walls and towers of the fortifications, long in a dilapidated state, fell down; and the whole city exhibited a scene of desolation. In the surrounding country, whole villages, with the peasantry and cattle, were swept away. Every ship at the bar, with yachts, boats, and vessels of all descriptions in the river, either foundered at their anchors, or were driven on shore. Three ships richly laden, belonging to a Turkish merchant, were entirely lost; their cargoes exceeded five lacs of rupees. The *Revenge*, the finest cruizer on the Bombay station, foundered, and every soul perished; together with the *Terrible*, *Dolphin*, and several of the smaller armed vessels. The ravages of this storm extended along the coast for upwards of six hundred miles on the west side of India; but it was felt most about the latitude of Surat and Baroche, and added no trifling effect to the sombre appearance of this once animated emporium.

The palace and gardens at Mahmud-a-Bhaug were

nearly destroyed by the storm, nor did the nabob seem inclined to repair them. The garden-houses of the English gentlemen suffered much damage, but were now resuming their former appearance. Melancholy indeed was the general aspect of Mahmud-a-Bhaug. The pavilions and detached buildings were blown to pieces, having by lapse of time, and the parsimony of the nabob, been for many years out of repair. The pavilions and smaller buildings, so often mentioned in the oriental gardens, separated from the princely mansion, are not to be considered like the generality of European summer-houses, as ornamental structures to embellish a vista, or command a prospect; on the contrary, being intended for use as well as ornament, they occupy different parts of the garden; sometimes connected to the principal building by corridors and verandas, oftener entirely detached, like those described in the chief's garden at Baroche, where each pavilion, shaded by a slight veranda, and encircled by its own canals, fountains, and parterres, is appropriated to a respective purpose: the most retired is generally among the Moguls, set apart for the zenana.

Shah-Bhaug, the summer palace of the emperor Shah Jehan, near Ahmedabad, and Mahmud-a-Bhaug, at Surat, bear a striking resemblance to the Tusculan villa and Laurentinum, especially the detached building at the latter, which Pliny calls "*Amores mei, re vera amores.*"

Zulam-Bhaug, the "Garden of Oppression," formerly noticed, still continued to be the favourite retreat of the nabob. In this garden I made considerable additions to a collection of near two hundred

specimens of seeds I had preserved from the trees, shrubs, and flowers at Baroche, and different parts of Guzerat ; many of which have since flourished in the conservatory at Stanmore-hill. There I have had the pleasure of beholding the tamarind-tree, custard-apple, and cotton-plant, flourishing with the ginger, turmeric, and coffee; and have gathered ripe guavas from a tree entwined by the crimson ipomea, the lovely *Mhadavi*-creeper of the Hindoos; encircled by the changeable rose (*hibiscus mutabilis*) the fragrant mogree, attracting alhinna, and sacred tulsee. I have not succeeded with the mango, which, in larger conservatories, has not only blossomed, but produced fruit; in those belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, and perhaps in some others. The fruit, I believe, did not arrive at maturity; the blossoms were in perfection and richly scented.

Surat at that time contained only the shadow of a Mogul court; as I have before observed, an extensive commerce, of far more importance to its aggrandizement, rendered it the first emporium in India, and the resort of merchants from every quarter of the globe. It was also the residence of several eminent and learned Mahomedans from Persia and the northern provinces of Hindostan, where Mogul literature, art, and science, no longer met with encouragement. I occasionally associated with these literati, as also with many Armenians and Turks, at the villa of Mulna Facroodeen, a rich Mogul partial to English society.

At these visits, and similar opportunities during three months' leisure in this extensive and opulent city, I was at some pains to investigate the progress

of art and science, and the extent of literary acquirements, and if not misinformed by those most able to make a proper estimate, it may be safely affirmed, that their knowledge is contracted, and their sentiments illiberal. I have occasionally mentioned the few exceptions within my own observation of the natives of India, and we may conclude that Gibbon's remark on the Arabians may be justly applied to the generality of Asiatics, and especially of the Indian moslems in higher classes of society, where he says, "The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction, even of the abstract sciences."

The effects of the belief in predestination, not only among the Mahomedans just mentioned, but the Indians in general, are wonderful, and pervade their whole conduct. The entrance of the jumma musjid, or grand mosque, in the capital of a district, had been adorned by two lofty minars; one of them, struck by lightning, fell down at a few feet from its base, and left the other a desolate beauty. On inquiring why the damage was not repaired, the mullah told me their religion did not permit it when produced by such a cause.

It would be unpardonable to conclude the subject of oriental literature without mentioning Avyar, a celebrated female philosopher among the Tamuls. Dr. John, in the Protestant Mission on the Coromandel coast, has given a very interesting account of this extraordinary woman, accompanied by many valuable translations from her writings. This Indian phenomenon was a polytheist, and invoked the god Pulleyar, or the deity held by the Hindoos to be the protector of learning and science, as Mercury was

among the Greeks. The time in which she lived, is placed in the age of the three famous kings, Sholen, Sherem, and Pandien, which falls about the ninth century of the Christian æra. Amongst other sciences this lady was well acquainted with chemistry, and her moral writings were written for the benefit of mankind, particularly for youth. Her performances are introduced in the Tamul schools, and read by the children amongst the first books which they learn.

## FROM THE ATISUDI, BY AVYAR.

Glory and honour be to the divine son of him who is crowned with the flowers of the Ati.

Charity be thy pleasure.

Be not passionate.

Do not manifest thy secrets.

Give, and then eat.

Never cease to improve in learning

Build not too large a house.

Forget offence.

To protect is noble.

Do not part with thy friend.

Be not slothful in thy actions.

Keep company with the virtuous.

Do not speak too much.

Converse with those who are polite.

Save rather than destroy.

Do not pursue a conquered enemy.

Do not occupy thyself with trifles.

Keep the divine laws.

Cultivate what gives the best fruit.

Go not where a snake may lie.

Be prudent in applying thy money.

Do not despise thy ancestors.

Make not others blush by thy speaking.

Do not come near one who is in a passion.



Go not into the house of the dancing-girls.  
 Do not like dispute.  
 Endeavour to get a house of your own.  
 Be clean in thy clothes.  
 Go only where there is peace.  
 Love religious meditation.

FROM THE KALWIOLUCKAM, OR RULES OF LEARNING,  
 BY AVYAR.

*The zealous study of sciences brings increasing happiness and honour.*

Learning is really the most durable treasure.

A wise man is like a supporting hand.

If all should be lost, what we have learned will never be lost.

What we have learned in youth, is like a writing cut in stone.

He who has learned most, is most worthy of honour.

Though one is of low birth, learning will make him respected.

In proportion as one increases in learning, he ought also to increase in virtue.

If knowledge has a proper influence upon the mind, it makes us virtuous.

Science is an ornament wherever we come.

If one knows what sin is, he becomes wise.

Religious wise men enjoy great happiness.

Wisdom is the greatest treasure on earth.

In whom is much science, in him is great value.

Wise men are exalted above all other men.

FROM THE MORAL SENTENCES CALLED KONNEIVENDEN,  
 BY AVYAR.

Mother and father are the first known Deity.

Obstinate children are like a poisonous draught.

If thou cherishest passion, all thy merit is lost.

To obey thy father is better than prayer.

To honour thy mother is better than sacrifice.

Be peaceful, give, and be happy.

The best ornament of a family is unanimity.

The best ornament of a female is modesty.

Without a clean conscience, there is no good sleep.  
A mild temper is a beauty in women.  
Amongst relations civility is too often neglected.  
Even with thy nearest friends speak not impolitely.  
Speak friendly even to the poor.  
The fruit will be equal to the seed.  
A bad wife is like a fire in the lap.  
A slandering wife is like a devil.  
Let thy fellow creatures partake in thy enjoyments.  
Without religion is no virtue.  
If the Lord is angry, no man can save !

That a few men from the Brahmin seminaries may occasionally appear in the path of science, is nothing extraordinary ; but a female scholar, like Avyar, is a prodigy in Hindostan. As such I have been the more particular in her portrait ; so contrasted in all respects to that of the Hindoo, Mahomedan, and Parsee women.

Ostentatious splendour and pagantry formerly existed at Surat, as much as in most oriental cities where a nabob, or delegate from the Mogul empire, held his court. His durbar was always an epitome of the imperial arrangements at Agra and Delhi. These state insignia seem to be absolutely necessary among people so much attracted by outward appearance ; and is equally unavoidable, in some degree, wherever an Englishman resides in a public character, vested with a delegate authority, whether he is entitled a governor, a chief, a judge, or a collector. The people in general do not enter into those distinctions ; they consider him as intrusted with the executive power, and the more enlightened view him as the representative of the British nation. Being the only Englishman vested with civil authority in the Dhuboy purgunnas, I lived

in the durbar, the residence of their ancient rajahs, pundits, and governors; and, as far as the inhabitants could judge, was possessed of supreme power and influence. I was, therefore, often gently reprimanded by the zemindars and native officers, for leaving the suwarree, or state attendants, at the outer gate of the city, when I took my evening excursion, and preferred a walk in the fields, followed by a single peon and a faithful dog, to being smothered in dusty roads by an ostentatious cavalcade. It would have been as imprudent to wave the ceremony of official insignia within the precincts of the Dhuboy durbar, as it would have been irksome to parade with such incumbrances on a rural recreation.

At this time, when surrounded by ten times more Asiatic pomp than I had any reason to expect would fall to my lot, how often have I wished, and in familiar letters to my English friends expressed the wish, that I was enjoying a primrose bank and hawthorn hedge in my native country. With gratitude I acknowledge my wishes have been granted; and few, perhaps, have tasted the rural pleasures and vernal delights of this happy island, for near thirty years, more than myself, to whom they possess additional zest from having been so long deprived of them.

The umbrageous banian trees, and the sacred groves at Pulparra, shared the same fate as those in the surrounding country, during the late storm. I revisited those Brahminical seminaries which had formerly afforded me so much delight. A long and more intimate intercourse with the Brahmins and higher classes of Hindoos had rather lessened them in my esteem, since I received my first impressions in this sanctuary;

in that respect, as well as in its shady honours, I found Pulparra had lost many of those charms with which twelve years before I had been so captivated. The lives of the luxurious priests, the ignorance of the worshippers, and the penances of the devotees, now appeared not only superstitious, but useless and absurd. The unhallowed fires were still kindled for the innocent female victims; the temples still open to the higher castes of Hindoos, still shut against the poor chandala and humbled paria. But as the Surat government is now no longer divided, and the English laws, properly blended with the Hindoo and Mahomedan codes, are now established, we may hope that many flagrant abuses in the corrupt durbar of the nabob will be remedied, and the cremation of Hindoo widows be no longer permitted. No woman has burnt herself on the island of Bombay for these last fifty years, to my knowledge; nor do I believe this species of suicide has been allowed of since the English possessed it. Surely, then, it may be gradually and peaceably abolished wherever Great Britain extends her influence. Although not one of these infatuated females have immolated themselves during that long period in Bombay, it is a fact, too well established, that very lately, in the short space of six months, and within the compass of thirty miles round Calcutta, one hundred and fifty women, some of them virgin widows, have sacrificed themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. To what extent this cruel, destructive, and impolitic system prevails among forty millions of Hindoos subject to British laws and government, it would be impossible for me to determine; the proportion must be painfully great. In this estimate of forty millions,

neither Mahomedans, Parsees, nor the warlike tribes and lower castes of Hindoos are included: the calculation is only intended for those classes who more or less accede to this destructive tenet. The whole population of the British empire in India actually exceeds seventy millions.

Infanticide, as formerly mentioned, has, within these few years, been exterminated in Guzerat, and thousands of happy mothers, in all succeeding ages, when caressing their infant daughters, will bless the name of DUNCAN. Surely, therefore, the horrid spectacle of female suicide will be for ever abolished; for we must recollect, as instanced in the vizier of Brodera's wife, it is not only a widow, but a mother, a daughter, an ornament in all the relative situations of life, that thus dedicates herself to the flames. \*

The English have introduced the blessings of vaccination among all descriptions of people in Hindostan. By which means the lives of thousands, and tens of thousands, are annually preserved. In this humane undertaking the Brahmins have risen superior to prejudice, and under their extensive and powerful influence all other castes of Hindoos have adopted the practice. Many letters on this subject, from eminent Brahmins to medical gentlemen in India, do them honour; they contain the most liberal sentiments, and have been followed by a corresponding practice.

As vaccination is now so generally adopted in Hindostan, and likely to become a universal blessing in that populous part of the globe, it may be satisfactory to mention the following singular fact, respecting the antiquity of vaccination in India, taken from the

\* This was written in 1813.—EDIT.

Asiatic Register for 1804; which is altogether a curious and authentic addition to a subject so interesting to humanity.

The fact stated in the following translation of a written memorandum from the nabob Mirza Mehady Ali Khan, who was long resident at Benares, that the effects of vaccination have been known for a great length of time in that celebrated quarter of India, is referred to the investigation of those who have the opportunity and ability, since they cannot want the inclination, to prosecute so interesting an inquiry. The undoubted intimation of this fact, that vaccination has been practised among the worshippers of Bowannee, will not detract an iota from the merits of the Jennerian discovery; the fortuitous and happy circumstance that led to the discovery in Europe, has been unquestionable, and most satisfactorily proved, whilst the anxiety, study, perseverance, and indefatigable exertions, which have been applied by its benevolent professor to ensure the conviction of the world, in the unbounded benefit of the discovery, have entitled him to the lasting gratitude of mankind.

*Translation of a written memorandum from the nabob Mirza Mehady Ali Khan.*

“ During the period of my abode in the district of Benares, my eldest son being taken ill of a bad kind of the small-pox, and my friends interesting themselves for my comfort and his relief, one of them, named Slookum Chund, a Hindoo, pointed out to me that there was in the city of Benares one Alep Choby, a Brahmin from Oude, whose practice was chiefly

confined to this malady. Him, therefore, I lost no time in sending for to the town of Ghazecpoor, where I dwelt; and he arrived on the ninth day of the eruption; on seeing which, he observed, that if the eruption had not taken place, he would have endeavoured to facilitate and render it easy, but that now it was too late. On asking Choby what his process was, he said, 'From the matter of the pestule on the cow, I keep a thread drenched, which enables me, at pleasure, to cause an easy eruption on any child; adoring, at the same time, Bowannee (who is otherwise called Debec, Mata, and Sebla, and who has the direction of this malady) as well in my own person, as by causing the father of the child to perform the like ceremonies; after which I run the drenched string into a needle, and drawing it through between the skin and flesh of the child's upper arm, leave it there, performing the same operation in both arms, which always ensures an easy eruption; on the first appearance of which, the child's father or guardian renews his worship to Bowannee; and as the animal this goddess rides on is an ass, it is customary for such parent or guardian to fill his lap with grain, which an ass is sent to eat up. These observances ensure the propitious direction of Bowannee, so that only a very few pustules make their appearance; nor does any one die under this process.' Thus far did I learn from Alep Choby."

Not being myself sufficiently competent to elucidate the subject of medicine, as practised by the natives of India, I requested Mr. Underwood, a valuable friend and relation of mine, of great professional ability, who resided many years at Madras in a medical capacity, to give me some account of the general mode

of treatment in that part of the world. In consequence of which he favoured me with the following statement, which I introduce with great satisfaction, from its filling up a desideratum I could not have supplied from my own knowledge.

“ It appears to Europeans that the natives of India are extremely ignorant in the practice of physic ; they have many remedies, chiefly roots and herbs, which are generally given in the form of powders. The practitioners are poor men of a particular caste, who sit by the side of the high roads and market paths, with small boxes, containing various kinds of powder, which is administered with particular instructions, and a promise of cure in a specific number of days. In all complaints they enforce abstinence, seldom allowing the patient any other nourishment than thin congee, or rice gruel. In certain diseases they give cinibar, occasionally with success ; but the improper use of it frequently causes ulcerations to spread to a very great extent.

“ The natives are extremely bigoted to their own remedies, which, without improvement or alteration, are handed down from father to son, through succeeding generations. They therefore seldom apply for the assistance of Europeans until the case appears hopeless from their own prescriptions. They do not bleed, nor perform any surgical operation, unless the removal of a part partially divided. All cases of fractures and dislocations are consigned to the potters ; a caste of people abounding in Hindostan, for making the water-jars and cooking utensils of red clay, so universally used. The potter places the limb of his patient in what he considers the best situation, and then



covers the part affected with moist clay ; this when dry fixes the limb, and under such treatment simple and compound fractures often do well : but, as may be expected from this process, distortions and stiff joints are more frequently the consequence.

“ For spasmodic affections the natives of India generally apply the juice of the milk-bush to the parts affected, which acts like a blister. In more serious cases they use the actual cautery ; from this cause it is common to see horses, oxen, labouring men, especially palanquin bearers, and porters of heavy burthens, marked in many places by a hot iron. It cannot be expected that these medical practitioners should in general acquire any accurate knowledge of anatomy ; and the heat of the climate operates powerfully against their possessing any extensive information from dissection. Much however may be acquired from preparations.

“ Although I have no high opinion of the general mode of practice among the natives, yet in a few instances I should give a preference to their remedies, particularly in the ophthalmia, or sore-eye of India. The inflammation frequently runs so high that the sight is destroyed, unless by some active means the affection, so deeply rooted, can be removed. This I think is best done by an early application of what is called at Madras the ‘ country remedy ;’ which is a thin paste, made by burning a little allum on a hot iron, and mixing it with lime juice by a spatula into a paste. This is applied over both eye-lids, to the extent of the circle of the orbit, at going to rest, and washed off in the morning with a decoction of tamarrind leaves. This I consider the best and most cer-

tain remedy for a disease that so repeatedly causes blindness; a surprising number of the natives are entirely blind, especially among the poor.

“ I have often seen a Mahomedan practitioner perform the operation of removing a cataract. He made a small puncture with the point of a lancet, immediately behind the iris, into which he introduced a particular instrument, so guided as to depress the cataract. This operation I prefer to any other mode yet practised, as it occasions less injury to the eye.”

When with the Mahratta army during Ragobah's campaign in Guzerat, I had frequent opportunities of knowing the high estimation in which the English physicians were held both by Hindoos and Mahomedans, when they thought themselves seriously ill, or wished to procure their advice even for the females. It certainly would be no easy matter to persuade a Brahmin to mingle Peruvian bark, or any other medicine, with wine or distilled spirits; but to take the drug in simple water, or compounded with any ingredients he was accustomed to, would not be attended with difficulty. As to the other castes, in general, provided they are persuaded the prescription is to effect a cure, or prove a stimulus, they waive the ceremony of being very particular in their inquiries.

I mentioned the great alteration which a few years had occasioned at Surat, and assigned the cause. I certainly observed a much greater variation in the society and manners at Bombay, without such apparent reason. A constant fluctuation by the removal of the civil and military servants from one settlement to another, the influx of strangers in a large sea-port town, with other local circumstances, always occa-

sioned some change in society ; but whether from an extension of the military establishment, a considerable increase in the female circle from Europe, or from what other cause I know not, there was a material alteration in the English character at the Presidency. Etiquette, ostentation, and formality, had too generally supplanted the urbanity, friendship, and conviviality, so delightful in former times.

We found the population of Bombay very much increased, and constantly increasing. The troubles on the continent had compelled many to seek an asylum from the calamities of war ; personal security and protection of property, under the British flag, was another great inducement ; while a flourishing commerce and many other causes allured a number of merchants to leave their fluctuating situations in other places, for a more permanent settlement on this little rocky island ; which to the higher tribes of Hindoos has some peculiar inconveniences, and to the lower classes of every description must be far more expensive than any part of the continent.

The price of most kinds of provisions was nearly doubled since I first knew Bombay ; but there appeared no deficiency either of European or Indian commodities. The shops in the bazar were well stored with articles for luxury and comfort from all parts of the world ; and every breeze wafted a fresh supply. But if private expenses were thus increased, great indeed was the accumulation of public expenditure since my arrival in India, and still more so since my departure. According to Lord Valentia's estimate in 1804, the monthly outgoings of Bombay amounted to fifteen lacs of rupees, making one hun-

dred and eighty lacs, or upwards of two millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum: although its whole annual revenue, including the late cessions in Guzerat, did not exceed forty lacs, or five hundred thousand pounds.

The island of Bombay should now no longer be considered as a settlement, or separate colony, but as the metropolis (surrounded indeed by a large moat) of an extensive domain. For this island, only twenty miles in circumference, and almost covered with houses and gardens, will soon become a city, similar to the outer towns of Surat and Ahmedabad; smaller indeed by eight miles in its circumference than the latter in the zenith of her glory, and much less than London at this present day.

I am sorry to add, that as the Indian population of Bombay increased, there was among the natives a proportionate increase of crimes and punishment. This it may be alleged is a general hypothesis, and a necessary consequence of increased population in every country: there certainly are exceptions:—but wishing to be impartial, and on all occasions to draw a true portrait of the Indian character, I cannot avoid adverting once more to the assertions in some late publications respecting Indian morality in general, and to the virtues ascribed to the servants in particular. One respectable writer has thought proper to place the native servants in a very superior point of view to the same class of society in England. I cannot subscribe to such general eulogy: with heartfelt pleasure I have mentioned the fidelity and attachment of our own family servants; yet I can neither coincide in the preference given to the Asiatic over the British charac-

ter, nor can I sanction the circulation of such an opinion. On the contrary, it is well known that, notwithstanding the preference given by the inhabitants of Baroche to the British government, and their affecting exclamation on the tears of Heaven at our departure, that from Lullabhy, the great mozumdar of that purgunna, and extending in a greater or lesser degree from him through the revenue department and other civil appointments, self-interest, ingratitude, and fraud, prevailed among the native officers, with the exception of Dowlut Roy, Dessoy, and a few other amiable characters. These evil propensities prevailed not only among those classes, but broke out into a spirit of mutiny and desertion among the sepoy corps; with deceit, peculation, and robbery, in the lower orders of society, reaching to the Baroche servants employed in our family, who were not to accompany us to Bombay; as evinced by the stealing of the plate chest as before mentioned. After my departure from Dhuboy, during the short interval I continued at Baroche, the English commanding officer at Dhuboy sent me constant and grievous complaints of the native troops employed in those districts.

The chief of Salsette being settled at Tannah, invited a party of his Baroche friends to the durbar, where we were hospitably entertained for some days, and passed our time as happily as a retrospection of evanescent pleasures in Guzerat, and the idea of a speedy separation, would allow. Tannah, the capital of Salsette, had then become a flourishing town; the fortifications had been repaired, the Mahratta houses improved or rebuilt by the English gentlemen, and the durbar rendered a commodious residence.

From Tannah we made a pleasant excursion, in palanquins, to the inland mountains, to revisit the excavated temples and singular habitations formerly described; and on our returning voyage from Tannah to Bombay, took a last view of the far-famed caverns on the island of Elephanta—scenes which always fill the mind with renewed astonishment, followed by a train of ideas unknown in other situations.

The climate of Salsette is not reckoned so salubrious as Bombay; many causes are assigned, especially the quantity of jungle, or wood-land, still remaining uncleared; to which may be added the stagnant pools and marshes of rank vegetation, besides very extensive tracts of land yet uncultivated. When the underwood is cleared, the marshes drained, and agriculture encouraged, there can be no doubt of their effects in meliorating the atmosphere. The jungle, or marsh-fever, is more common at Salsette than Bombay: the young cadets sent over, on their first arrival from Europe, to Versovah and other places on this island, frequently suffer much from their deleterious effects.

During the whole of my residence in India, I never had a more alarming fever, than I was formerly seized with in the principal cave at Salsette, when I had been travelling two days in a palanquin, through the lower parts of the island, after the rainy season; before the vapours were sufficiently exhaled from the stagnant marshes and putrid vegetables on their borders. I therefore doubly enjoyed the interest and beauty of this wonderful scenery on the present occasion, when blessed with health, and surrounded by a social party of both sexes, sharing in every pleasure. At the same

time I would observe, that after sufficiently reposing in the great temple, a pensive stroll among these solitary and silent mountains is preferable for a stranger : he should leave the companions of his journey for an hour, to enjoy alone the peculiar sensations, on beholding a city not built by man, but excavated from the rocks ; immense temples not erected by human hands, but hewn inch by inch within a mountain of granite, in the most exact proportion. He treads the whole in silence, and meets no other inhabitant than birds, bats, and bees ; unless, perchance, (as has sometimes happened), he spies a tiger, who, after his nightly prowl, has retired to one of these dark recesses to conceal himself from the glare of day. From the summit of the highest mountain he enjoys the extensive prospect of sea and land formerly described ; and finds himself lost in contemplative wonder at the inadequateness of sublunary operations, and the vanity of all human structures ; since, in this astonishing scene, not even the name of the founder, nor the intent of his undertaking, is known to a single individual now existing !

In contemplating the extensive and delightful prospect from the excavated mountain, and especially the gentler hills and expanded valleys in the centre of the island, still in their wild state, it appeared extraordinary that during the ten years Salsette had then belonged to the Company, cultivation was not more advanced. I believe its improvement has been since more attended to, and the growth of sugar, indigo, and other lucrative productions attempted ; with what success I cannot ascertain. At all events Indian grain, in its great variety, would, according to the nature of the

soil and situation, be sure to thrive, and, considering the immense population of Bombay, must there always meet with a ready market. It was then I again adverted to the Parsees ; a people who, if properly encouraged, might form a valuable colony on Salsette. From the energy and spirit they possess in so superior a degree to the Hindoos, (who only tread in the footsteps of their progenitors, without even a wish for improvement,) much might be expected, not only in cultivating the waste land, but by the introduction of the useful arts, manufactures, and commerce. If induced to settle on Salsette, indulged with temples for their sacred fire, open sepulchres for their dead, farms, manufactories, and cottages for the middle and lower classes, and gardens and villas for the opulent, I cannot easily conceive a better or a happier colony.

Few people more justly appreciate the blessings of liberty and property than the Parsees ; they enjoy the envied bliss, and contrast it with the oppressive governments around them. When last at Bombay, I frequently conversed with Muncher Jevan, and other sensible Parsees. Unshackled by the religious prejudices and superstitious deprivations of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, and possessing more useful knowledge and liberal sentiments than either, I was highly gratified by their opinion on subjects in general history, politics, and religion. Their reasoning on the separation of the American Colonies, and the ruinous war then just terminated, on the blended and separate interests of the King's and Company's governments in India, and the diversity of religious opinions and modes of worship in the Christian church, were I to detail them, would surprise many European readers.



The Parsees at Bombay possess considerable landed property, and have either built, or purchased from the English on their return to Europe, some of the best villas and gardens on the island. At my last visit I had been absent seven years, during which they had made great advances in wealth and independence, lived in some of the prettiest country houses, and drove thither in elegant carriages of English construction. I am informed their progress in the last twenty years has been still more rapid.

This party to Salsette, Elephanta, and Caranjah, was the last of my excursions in India. On parting in the durbar at Tannah, many of us took a final leave of each other—that was to have been expected. Several of us had resided together in Guzerat, occupied in the respective duties of public and private life; our destiny was now widely different—separated by an immense distance of sea and land, the pleasures and the pains of memory were to become a substitute for friendly concord and social harmony. When friends take a long leave of each other, they endure a pang, well known to minds of sensibility, which language cannot utter. Twenty-eight years are now elapsed since the separation alluded to: the sensations were renewed within a few weeks on our final departure from Bombay!

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—————“ Behold, fond man!  
See here thy pictur'd life!—Pass some few years,  
Thy flowering Spring—thy Summer's ardent strength,  
Thy sober Autumn fading into age—  
And pale concluding Winter comes at last,  
And shuts the scene. Ah! whither now are fled  
Those dreams of greatness? those unsolid hopes  
Of happiness? those longings after fame?

Those restless cares? those busy bustling days?  
 Those gay-spent festive nights? those veering thoughts  
 Lost between good and ill, that shar'd thy life?  
 All now are vanish'd! VIRTUE sole survives,  
 Immortal, never-failing friend of man,  
 His guide to happiness on high!" THOMSON.

I was always desirous of exploring many interesting spots in the north-east parts of Guzerat. With the conveniences for travelling in England this might have been easily accomplished; but it is far otherwise in Hindostan, where a journey of only fifty miles requires much consideration and arrangement. My public duties as a member of council at Baroche, and collector of revenues at Dhuboy, situations of responsibility and anxiety, kept me fully employed; and being thus deprived of an opportunity to accomplish my wishes, I endeavoured to gain every intelligence of those districts from the yogees, senassees, and other travelling mendicants, who frequented Dhuboy.

I had transcribed some hundred pages from those memoranda, and other documents, to illustrate the countries bordering on the Dhuboy and Brodera purgunnas; especially in the dominions of Mhadajee Sindia, which I intended should follow the account of the Guzerat districts entrusted to my care; but the papers of a deceased friend having since come into my possession, afford such ample scope for a more complete description of those interesting tracts, that I shall suppress much of my own collection, to introduce a journey from Surat to Calcutta, written in the year 1785, when Mr. Cruso, in his medical capacity, accompanied Sir Charles Malet to the camp of Mhadajee Sindia, through provinces little frequented by

Europeans, and some of them never yet described : this route was purposely selected by Sir Charles, to improve and extend our knowledge of so interesting a part of India.

From my own materials, the rough journal of Mr. Cruso, and the kind assistance of Sir Charles Malet in supervising, improving, and amplifying many passages from his own manuscripts, I am enabled to produce a narrative of novelty and interest far superior to the desultory observations contained in two or three of my letters, descriptive of the Malwa scenery, and its inhabitants. As the whole is now formed into one connected detail, it is unnecessary to particularise each respective source of information. Mr. Cruso's journal has furnished the outline and principal features of the picture, the more masterly touches are by the hand of Sir Charles.

Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart, was appointed by Warren Hastings, Esq. then Governor-general of India, resident at the court of Poona. Not only from his political knowledge, but from his being perfectly conversant with the languages and manners of Hindostan ; and in order that he might receive complete instructions in the general line of his negotiations, and be enabled to establish a concerted plan of correspondence with our minister at the court of Mhadajee Sindia, he was ordered to go immediately to the camp of Mhadajee Sindia, at Agra, as on his way to Calcutta ; and to proceed to this presidency, if necessary for his more effectual instructions, or otherwise to receive his appointment and credentials there.

Sir Charles consequently lost no time in carrying

the views, and if possible more than the views, of government into effect ; and procured captain (now general) Reynolds, to be appointed to accompany him as surveyor, and Mr. Cruso as surgeon, both recommended by talent, promising every advantage in their respective lines.

He sailed on the 28th of January, and reached the city of Surat on the 2d of February ; where having been detained, by waiting for the requisite passports from the different princes whose territories he had to traverse, and by the preparations necessary for so long a journey, in a conspicuous public character, he was not able to proceed until the 12th of March ; when he moved from Surat, amply equipped in every point, to give an impression of respect for his nation and government, to those tribes and chieftains, hitherto unacquainted with Europeans, through whose dominions, then but little known, and entirely undescribed, he had purposely selected his route. The guard appointed to accompany him consisted of one complete company of regular native infantry, twenty-six Indian cavalry, and thirty-five irregular sepoys.

Mr. Cruso's account of Surat, Baroche, and other places in Guzerat, generally corresponding with those formerly detailed in these volumes, I shall pass over, and conduct the travellers to Oojen, the capital of Mhadajee Sindia, part of Malwa. They arrived there on the 10th of April, and on approaching the city, Sir Charles was met by a deputation from the governors, for there were two who conducted him to the encampment on the banks of the river Sepra, which runs by the western walls of the city.

I had heard from other visitors of the desolated scenery at Vezelpore. The villa I had erected on that beautiful spot only eight years before, was then in ruins ; the dining parlour converted to a stable, the drawing-room to a cow-house ; the garden was ploughed up, and sown with grain, the trees destroyed, the lines to the Naiad defaced, and her urn broken.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Journey of Sir Charles Malet and Mr. Cruso from Surat to Calcutta—Arrival at Oojen — Shah-Jehan-poor — Sarung-poor—Koojneer—Rajeghur—Sterile and stony country—Ragoghur—Malwa—Sasy Seroy—Iron Mines—Gwalier—Nourabad—Dolepore.

ON his arrival at Oojen, Sir Charles found his tents pitched in a pleasant situation on the banks of the Sepra, not far from its western walls. The next morning, the 11th of April 1785, an officer and suitable attendants came to conduct him with in the gates, and also to view the suburbs, which are extensive and very dusty, most of the houses being built of mud. The city is large and extremely populous; the streets broad, airy, paved, and clean; the houses generally good. The most striking public structures are a temple built by Ranojee Sindia, father of Mhadajec Sindia; a mausoleum erected in memory of a celebrated Gosannec devotee, and another containing the ashes of Ranojee Sindia. The two latter, with others of less importance, adorn the bank of the Sepra, from whence several large flights of steps lead to the river; the whole produces a good effect. Sir Charles's first visit was to Mhadu-Ghur, called also Byro Ghur, a fortress a mile and a half north of Oojen, by a road running on the banks of the Sepra. At the entrance of Mbadu

Ghur, is a large Hindoo temple ; the outer walls and towers are irregular ; within is another fort, or citadel, of an exact square, with four gates, leading to a palace of good dimensions, in an unfinished state. The Sepra, as before observed, flows on the western side of the fortress, and part of its channel is to be conducted into a deep ditch, now forming round the remainder. It is altogether a place of little strength ; the walls and towers appearing more like those round an oriental pleasure ground than a fortification. The whole is a recent work, commenced by order of Mhadajec Sindia, not yet finished, nor likely to be.

His guides then conducted him to a very extraordinary building, at Kallea Déh, about a mile and a half further. The Sepra running on the east, in its natural bed, has been conducted by a channel to the western side of the structure ; where the stream rushes through the arches of a bridge into two large reservoirs, and is, from thence, led to numerous small ones, with fountains and other ornaments. On the right is a range of buildings divided by arches, each leading to a square apartment, with a roof partly projecting inward to form a colonnade round a fountain and small tank, bordered with chunam. This was open to the sky, while the company sat beneath a piazza round the water. Under the roof, throughout all the apartments, are iron rings, from which the tattees, or screens of sweet-scented grass, were suspended. This range of apartments, the bridge, and large central building, form three sides of a square : on the fourth, which is open to the rest, the river, divided into five streams, rushes down as many artificial cascades into a general receptacle, which loses itself at the foot of a

neighbouring hill. The central building, immediately fronting this pleasing scene, consists of a square apartment, covered by four domes, but has no private chambers; it seems to have been intended for the duan konna, or eating room; where the company assembled to take refreshment, and enjoy a view of the lake and cascades below. This structure still remains in high preservation; the excellent materials, especially the fine chunam, having hitherto resisted the effects of time and the elements. In front of the whole are the remains of a wall, enclosing about three miles of ground; which was formerly a park belonging to this royal villa.

From a Persian history of the province of Malwa, Sir Charles Malet collected the following account of this extraordinary work: "Sultaun Nasir al Deen Ghilzey, son of Ghias al Deen, ascended the throne of Malwa, in the 905th year of the hejira, and reigned eleven years and four months. This prince was tyrannical and cruel: he caused the buildings, the fountains, the reservoirs, and the cascades, to be constructed at Kallea, Déh, and Saadunpore. Having contracted an insufferable heat in his habit, by the use of fixed quick-silver, he had recourse to these watery abodes; there he spent his time, and transacted the business of his kingdom." By this account the water-works and subaqueous edifices are three hundred years old, A. D. 1785; and from the excellent state of their present preservation, deservedly claim our admiration. The people of India have extraordinary ideas of the invigorating and stimulating powers of fixed mercury. Similar places were constructed by Sultaun Nasir in other parts of his dominions; and



there are very fine ones at Mando, about twenty-six coss from Oojen.

Oojen is infested by swarms of Hindoo mendicants and a prodigious number of courtezans, of more effrontery than usual. It is a very ancient city, said to have been founded by the great rajah Bicker Maje, who gave an æra to the Hindoos still current in a great part of India, this year, A. D. 1785, being 1842 in their calendar. The city, with a large proportion of Malwa province, has been about fifty years in the possession of the Mahratta family of Sindia.

On the 14th of April, the travellers left the Malwa capital, attended by an honorary escort as far as Shah-Jehan-pore, to repair as soon as possible to Mhadajee Sindia, then with his army near Agra; which, with its castle, had lately surrendered to him; and Shah Aalum, the Mogul emperor, was then a sort of state prisoner in his camp. After a pleasant journey of twenty-two miles they arrived at Turrana, a tolerable town, with a neat fort, situated in the dominions of Holcar, another great Mahratta chieftain.

They proceeded the next day to Shah Jehan-pore, a distance of eighteen miles. The first part of this day's journey was on a very indifferent road, passing through an uncultivated tract of country: from those wild uplands they descended into a fertile valley, watered by the Lacoondra, now a small stream flowing in a broad bed, which in the rainy season must be a river of consequence. The Lacoondra falls into the Sind at some distance from hence. About half way between Turrana and Sháh Jehan-pore they descended from an eminence, to view an extraordinary piece of

water, situated between two hills, called Canadraka Tellow ; and presently after were obstructed by a very high bank of earth ; which being thrown across the road formed a head either to prevent the water from overflowing a neighbouring vale, to which they saw the traces of its having forced a passage in the rainy season, or to carry off its redundancy in some other direction. The vale was so exceedingly stony, that the greatest exertions could alone render it fruitful ; and it is but justice to remark, that no cultivators can be more industrious than its inhabitants. The country was generally pleasing, exhibiting great variety in the colour and disposition of the trees. Shah Jehan-pore is a large town, about a mile from the foot of Baruse Dungur, a very lofty hill, with a single tree and Hindoo temple on the summit, seen at a great distance on all sides. The town is walled, though the works are now going to decay ; the river Cheeler or Teekum flows on its eastern side ; a little below the fort is a kind of bridge without arches, intended as a dam to preserve a sufficiency of water for the town, which contains some good houses and several handsome gates, leading to the principal streets, formerly paved, but now sadly out of repair, as indeed is almost every thing in the place. The Mahomedan inhabitants complain bitterly of the Mahratta government ; the dreadful oppressions of the Amul within, and the cruel depredations of the Gracias without the walls, have almost driven them to despair. Here are many splendid remains of Mogul buildings, and ruinous mausoleums in a grand style ; in some of their enclosures the Hindoos had built small places of worship, which among so bigotted a people appeared very extraordi-

nary; in another place they saw a Mahomedan mosque inhabited by a Hindoo Gosannee.

There was this day a most violent gale of wind, accompanied by such heavy clouds of dust, that until after a short fall of rain, the travellers could not see each other; this also alleviated the extreme heat, and in the evening the thermometer fell to 60°. A few days before they took a thermometer which stood in their tent at 100°, and carried it into a house, at about eighty yards distant, cooled by tattees sprinkled with water, where in less than an hour it fell eighteen degrees.

The nature of the country now made it necessary to discharge the carts drawn by oxen, which had hitherto carried part of the baggage, and to procure an additional number of camels for that purpose; with which, on the 17th, they proceeded to Sarungpoor, a distance of near seventeen miles from Shah Jehan-pore; during which they crossed several rivulets, and at length arrived at the Cotta Sind, which runs along the west side of the town, and is by far the fullest river they had seen since leaving the Nerbudda. The eastern bank for a mile from the town is extremely beautiful. Its lofty slopes are in reality hanging gardens, planted with cucumbers, melons, and a variety of vegetables.

Sarungpoor is surrounded by remains of Mogul mausoleums, for the most part well designed, and elegantly executed; on the south east side is a kuberstan, or burying ground, with five large tombs still entire, and many in a state of dilapidation. Verses of the Koran are legible on their porticos. Some appear to be under a peculiar care, the chamber under the dome clean swept, and the tombs strewed with flowers;

particularly a very handsome one, erected to the memory of Baz Bahauder Patshah, king of Malwa, who was killed near Sarungpoor, during the wars of Akber. In the centre of the town is a noble *musjid*, with a grand and lofty entrance, surrounded by a large court, with arcades, in ruins : this mosque is turned into a government hay-loft and granary for horses. Near it is the ruined gate leading to the hummums, and many other splendid remains, which fill the mind with melancholy reflections on the downfall of the Moguls, and with them all the arts and sciences they once cherished, without the smallest prospect of a revival under the wretched government of the Mahrattas, who now, under different chieftains, possess all these provinces.

Sarungpoor is famous for a manufactory of muslins for turbans, and other cottons, which were cheaper than any Sir Charles had met with. Several men were taken up there for a most cruel method of robbery and murder, practised on travellers, by a tribe called *phanseegurs*, or stranglers, who join passengers frequenting the fair, in bye-roads, or at other seasons convenient for their purpose : under the pretence of travelling the same way, they enter into conversation with the strangers, share their sweetmeats, and pay them other little attentions, until an opportunity offers of suddenly throwing a rope round their necks with a slip knot, by which they dexterously contrive to strangle them on the spot.

Sarungpoor is a part of the allotment of the *Powar* family ; the fine province of Malwa having, after the Mahratta conquest, been chiefly divided between the great families of *Sindia*, *Holcar*, and *Powar*, with certain territorial and feudal reservations to the Peshwa, as head of the Mahratta government.

On the 18th of April Sir Charles travelled from Sarungpoor to Koojneer, a large village in Holcar's districts. Koojneer is surrounded by regular groves of mangos, so contrasted by irregular forest trees, as to form a charming variety in form and colour ; not more so than the crops in the intervening fields, where sugar canes, oil plants, flowers for dying, pulse and vegetables, present a rich scene of mingled hues. Large herds of cattle were grazing in the pastures, and the general appearance of industry among the peasants, afforded unusual delight. How truly happy might these people be under the wholesome regulations of a mild and fostering government, to secure the property which would then accumulate in such an enviable situation !

The commencement of the next day's journey was a continuation of the same delightful scenery ; which, after a few miles, assumed a sterile stony aspect. This savage country increased so much as he approached Rajeghur, where it was intended to halt, that he anticipated a dreary encampment ; and was agreeably surprised, after riding twenty miles, to find the tents pitched on the banks of the Nuaje, a broad river, with shady banks, and a plentiful stream of water. Rajeghur at a little distance appears to be built on a plain, but a nearer approach discovers the houses to stand in a straggling manner, on the sides of gullies, which form the streets. The fort, on an eminence, contains several good houses, and a tolerable bazar. The inhabitants of Rajeghur spin a great deal of cotton thread for the coarser manufactures, and express a quantity of oil from the seeds of those poppy heads which have already produced the annual supply of opium ; this is

the most common lamp oil used in this part of the country.

Amcer Sing, the rajah of Rajeghur, having been prepared for his arrival by a previous correspondence with Sir Charles, behaved with great civility; and in addition to the usual supply of fuel, hay, milk, and vegetables, sent a present of sweetmeats, tastefully prepared: among them was a plate of sugar-candy on strings, highly flavoured with roses. The rajah's cavalry made a respectable appearance in point of number and discipline.

After three days travelling in an uninteresting country, Sir Charles came within view of a high range of hills, with a large fort in front, which his guides informed him was Rogoghur; two hours afterwards he found himself between two lofty hills, approaching the foot of the central range. On that to the left stood the fort very much concealed by trees and contiguous buildings. Here he was met by a chopdar, with a request from the rajah that he would not enter the town, but turn out of the road he was then on, which led to its gates, and ascend the middle hill. Not willing to give umbrage, he complied with the request, and by this means had a leisure view of one face of the town, which appears similar to Baroche, but considerably higher: the walls seem of a weak construction, and the numerous towers mount no cannon; on this quarter it appears quite inaccessible, and on the road side for a great extent were newly-made intrenchments, and lines running from it to the fort. On gaining the summit of the hill the road took a northern direction, and he discovered the east angle with

three towers; stretching to the north-west, it joined the west front, in the form of a triangle. From the ground allotted for his encampment, he commanded a romantic view of woods, gullies, temples, houses, towers and rocks, strangely jumbled together, intermingled with cultivation, cattle, and large stacks of corn.

On the 24th of April Sir Charles came in view of Jercoon, a large fort belonging to Bulwant Sihng, situated on a hill in the midst of a plain, which seemed an entire rock: the towers were of no great strength, and the face bore the marks of a siege. From thence an indifferent road through a hilly country brought him to Maulpoor, the termination of the Ragoghur rajahship. The surrounding country was wild and romantic, the hills abounding with game. Here he saw a number of deer, and four large sabirs, or samboos, one considerably bigger than an ox, with hares, peacocks, and partridges in incredible numbers. He pursued the game for several hours in this irregular tract, in a heat from ninety to a hundred degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, without the least prejudice to his health.

On the 26th he travelled eighteen miles to Boora Doongre, and about five miles from Boora Doongre passed the ruins of a small village, called Durdch, where Mhadajee Sindia was encamped, when so completely surprised by colonel Camac, from Colarees, five years before.

He also passed a number of men, women, and children, on their route from their respective villages in the north, whence they had been driven by famine, which

had reailed there during the last two years. The fertile and well-watered province of Malwa had been the resort of numerous emigrants from the neighbouring countries labouring under this dreadful affliction.

The next day he travelled seventeen miles to Sasye Seroy, through an open cultivated plain, where he passed Colarees, a large fortified town, with the remains of tanks, and a bouree, or large well, of very superior architecture. Sasye Seroy, is a large village, built entirely of stone, which is found in the adjacent country, not excepting even the roofs of the houses, which are composed of large slabs, some a yard and a half square, laid on in so rude a manner, as to give a miserable unfinished appearance to the whole. It takes the additional name of seroy, or serai, from a royal serai, commonly called a caravanserai in Europe. It is one of those buildings erected for the accommodation of travellers, at moderate distances, on all the padshah, or royal roads, during the flourishing state of the Mogul empire. Most of these buildings are now in a state of dilapidation; those kept in repair by the Mahrattas are chiefly for the purpose of securing forage for the cavalry, as was the case at present. One gate of the serai leads to a musjid, composed of open arches supporting a dome; near it are the remains of a tank and fountain, with a well of excellent water in good repair.

At a quarter of a mile distance from the town are the ruins of several Hindoo temples; two of them, and a pillar adjoining, extremely well executed: the figures, in the style of those at the Elephanta, apparently by superior artists, are grouped in great variety, but partaking of a common defect in Indian statuary,



which totally fails in the delineation of joints or muscle. —For two days Sir Charles travelled through stony regions, but on the first of May left the sterile rocky plain and gradually ascended a lofty hill: the former contained a few villages, nearly depopulated; partly from the effects of a two years' famine, and still more from an oppressive government. On the side of this hill, he passed a large fortified town, called Dooa, or Deway, where were iron mines, and works for the fabrication of that metal.

Proceeding from thence he ascended another rocky eminence, and beheld a pleasant valley, in which stood the large walled town of Berye, with its ghurry or citadel, the ruins of some old pagodas, and the shining domes of new temples, interspersed among verdant plains, altogether presenting a scene to which he had not lately been accustomed. Here he encamped after a fatiguing journey of seventeen miles; the heat being intense, and the thermometer in his palanquin at 102°. There are several smiths in the town for working the iron mines in its vicinity.

The very low price of earth, and the great proportion of metal it contains, renders the value of iron extremely cheap; yet not so much so, as from these circumstances might be expected: this is accounted for from the great scarcity of charcoal, without which nothing can be done; none can be procured nearer than twelve miles, and there it sells for half a rupee the bullock load. Sir Charles visited several of the forges: the process was the same in all, and the same weight of metal was generally extracted from the same quantity of iron earth. He also procured a guide to attend him to the mines, as soon as the moon arose

the next morning. He set off about two o'clock, and leaving the Gwalier road on the left, traversed a cultivated plain for three miles, until he reached a village called Naigow, where he found a number of smiths working at this early hour. His guide expressing some doubts respecting the road to the mines, they readily supplied him with another, who leaving all regular paths led him over a wild scene of hills and dales, until about five miles further he reached the mines just as the day dawned, time enough to see several loads of iron earth dawn up by torch light; no language can convey an adequate idea of the scene. The darkness of the morning, the gloomy lights in the deep shafts of the mines, the black dirty miners, the shouts of the driers, and noise of the bullocks, with the savage aspect of the surrounding hills, altogether produced an extraordinary spectacle. So powerful was the effect of the iron in the environs of Berye, that the compass varied nearly three points.

On the 2d of May, the travellers proceeded towards Gwalier, a name celebrated in the military annals of India, for the gallant and successful enterprize of Captain Popham, in taking this fortress in the year 1780. The road from the mines thither was pleasant, but hilly; crossing the river Ummer, they reached Cherowray, a town already mentioned, situated on a hill between two vallies, commanding an extensive view. The more direct road to Gwalier, which is seen from Cherowry, is through Nowgong; but on descending the hills they saw no more of that lofty fortress until they arrived within two miles of it.

Gwalier stands on a high hill in a circular valley, remarkable for the unusual regularity of its summit,

extending about a mile from north to south. The town is situated below; great part of it now in a ruinous state, and the remainder very thinly inhabited, occasioned by a dreadful famine, with which this part of the country has been lately visited, in addition to the wars and revolutions that had previously desolated it. Gwalier stands pleasantly between the circuit of a hill, and a river flowing in its front. The fort is said to have existed for eighteen hundred years, being first built by Rajah Surej Sihng; from that time it underwent many alterations and improvements by different sovereigns, who erected several palaces, still conspicuous on the eastern face. The most elegant was built three hundred years ago, by a rajah named Maun Sihng, whence it is called Maun Mhunder; it is beautified with enamel of various colours, still bright and vivid. Gwalier was taken from him by the grandfather of Akber, and has since been in the possession of too many conquerors to enumerate.

Sir Charles arrived at Gwalier on the 2d of May, and remained two days, to recruit the attendants and cattle after the late marches through the most rugged country that had occurred in the whole journey at this hottest season of the year. This place is still very interesting. Amidst a variety of ruined buildings, is a handsome serai; some parts of it are kept in tolerable repair, to answer the benevolent purpose for which it was erected; where a number of people, chiefly women, called Metrahnees, take up their abode to attend strangers on their arrival in the city. The poorest traveller is immediately furnished with a bed, some wheat-bread, and cool water, for the humble

pittance of two pice, or one penny. This in some measure proves the truth of Thomas Coriat's assertion, in a letter to his mother, that during his travels through Hindostan, he could live for twopence a day.

The most perfect building is an elegant mosque, erected by Ahmed Khan, who held a distinguished post under the emperor Aurungzebe. The gate leading to it from the bazar is very grand, and two lofty minarets, seen at a considerable distance from the town, have a striking effect. Near the south-gate are the remains of a magnificent bowree, or large well, built by the same person; from which pipes extended, in different directions, to the several houses in the city which he meant to supply with water, a frequent mark of the benevolence of the wealthy in Hindostan, where all great works spring from the munificence of the prince or of rich individuals.

One of the most magnificent structures without the walls, is the Roza shrine, or mausoleum of Huzzret Shah Mahomed Gose, a celebrated peer, or Mahomedan saint. It stands within a large enclosure, consecrated by Akber as a repository for the remains of himself and family; time and religious influence have rendered it the sepulchre of many hundreds besides. The mausoleum itself contains the bodies of three of Akber's sons, and the tutor of the eldest prince. Shah Abdalla, the emperor's eldest son, raised this edifice, by the order and at the expense of his father. The royal remains are deposited under a handsome tomb of white marble, exquisitely wrought, covered by a silken pall, decorated with peacock's feathers. On a stool by the head, on the right hand, is the Koran wrapt up in a napkin. On the left, near the monu-

ment of Akber, is that of his eldest son : the other imperial princes repose at a greater distance. It is altogether a stupendous fabric, with an immense door in the centre, and twelve smaller in different apertures. The design is grand, the execution in a superior style, and the preservation wonderful, considering it has been erected two hundred and thirty-six years.

Under a neat marble tomb, near the pier, are deposited the remains of *Tanseine*, the Orpheus of Hindostan, he being the first who brought the art of singing to perfection in this part of the world. By the Mahomedan accounts he was a Brahmin boy, converted to Islamism by Shah Mahomed Gose ; who, struck with the sweetness of his voice, patronized him very early in life, and taking great pains in cultivating his talents, laid the foundation of that celebrity which he afterwards attained. He lived many years at the court of Akber, high in favour with the emperor, and the admiration of his subjects. Dying at Lahore, while attending his sovereign, Akber, out of affection and respect to his memory and talents, had his corpse conveyed from thence to Gwalier, at a great expense, that it might be deposited near the remains of his friend and early benefactor, Shah Mahomed Gose. Even to this hour the memory of Tanseine is so celebrated, that the musical amateurs of Hindostan hold it in the highest veneration, and many travel from a great distance to do homage at his shrine. His tomb was formerly shaded by a spreading tamarind-tree, which has been so often stripped of its leaves, bark, and tender branches, by these musical votaries, that it is now almost a sapless trunk, in the last stage of decay. A chief reason for this spoil is the prevailing idea that a decoction from the bark, leaves, and

wood of this tree, gives a clearness and melody to the voice.

Many stories are told of Tanseine, nearly as surprising as those related of Orpheus, Amphion, and other celebrated musicians of antiquity. Tanseine composed verses, as well as sang with such superiority, that when Akber, who was extremely luxurious and magnificent in his entertainments, invited strangers, and resolved to give an extraordinary zest to the royal banquet, Tanseine had his allotted share in the feast. When the company assembled in the dusk of evening to enjoy the gentle breeze, and taste the perfumes of the gardens, percolated and cooled by the numerous fountains playing round the shrubberies, darkness was gradually permitted to approach; but lamps of various colours, intended for a general illumination, were notwithstanding properly arranged, though ordered not to be lighted until a private signal was given by the emperor to Tanseine, who then suddenly burst forth into a strain so astonishingly harmonious, that the whole scene became illuminated by the magic of his voice !

There are numerous gardens about a mile from the town, laid out in a bad taste; straight narrow walks, formal trees crowded together, and flowers closely planted in small beds, like a carpet. They seem very little attended to; nor is there any thing else in the once celebrated town of Gwalier deserving the traveller's attention.

Sir Charles left Gwalier before day-break on the 5th of May, and proceeded towards Agra, through a country so completely depopulated, that in passing near several large ruined villages, he only now and

then saw a poor half-starved being peeping through a wretched hovel. A good road soon brought him to Nourabad, where was the handsomest bridge he had yet seen in India; a large serai, well paved, and beautified by several small domes and minarets; also the tomb of Cunnah Begum, wife of that notorious delinquent and fugitive Ghazyul-din Khan, who died on the road, and was buried under a tree not far from the town, until her mother sent a thousand rupees to have her body removed, and interred in a manner more suitable to her former rank. It is now deposited under the mausoleum of one of the ancient kings in the centre of a garden.

The river Saunk runs by Nourabad, in a broad and full stream. About four miles further the travellers crossed another considerable river, called Afsan, and halted at Choonda, a small village on the opposite side, where the tents were pitched for the night, and the next morning marched sixteen miles to the village Keytree, on the banks of the Chumbel, by far the broadest of any river they had yet seen, except the Nerbudda, though the stream was at this season narrow and shallow. The road was generally good, the country very little cultivated, and on approaching the river often cleft into deep ravines and immense hollows. The banks of the Chumbel, intersected by immense gullies, with the general inequality of the ground, gives the landscape a wild and singular appearance.

On the 7th Sir Charles marched thirteen miles. Proceeding at dawn of day through a broken country and a heavy sandy road, he reached Dolepoor, the residence of Mahomad Beg Humdannec, a jaghiredar

under Sindia, and a principal actor in the commotions which caused the present change of affairs in the Mogul empire. The town is large, has many public and private edifices of great beauty, and is delightfully situated amidst groves and gardens laid out with taste.

The next day Sir Charles crossed the bed of the Gumbeer, a very broad river, now without water, which, when full, is passed by a bridge of larger dimensions, but not executed with so much taste as that at Nourabad. This, like all the others that he had hitherto seen, was without the smallest rise in the centre, but carried on in a straight surface. It consists of twenty arches, each upwards of five yards wide, and the intermediate space of equal breadth; it is well paved, and adorned with two minarets at each end. On the north bank of the Gumbeer stands the town of Jajew, where is a serai built by order of Sha Jchan, beyond comparison the most elegant he had yet met with. The entrances are uncommonly grand, each consisting of two minarets, tastefully decorated, with the gate and appropriate ornaments in the centre. On the left is a musjeed, not more remarkable for general beauty than for the delicacy of the stone with which it is built. It is of a pale reddish hue, inlaid with ornaments of light yellow, and white marble.

Soon after leaving the Gumbeer the travellers passed a less considerable river, called the Karra Nuddy, or salt-river, which they were told has its source in a salt lake in the neighbourhood of Jaypoor; but other information attributes the spring to another spot; the water was brackish and disagreeable. From thence they proceeded to Oakwalla, the halting place for the



day, which, to avoid the extreme heat, they passed under the dome of a Mahomedan mausoleum. Near it were two Hindoo tombs; on one of them was sculptured a tiger, on the other a deer. They could gain no intelligence concerning these singular monuments, which were the first of the kind they had seen. From this spot they could discern, by the assistance of a telescope, the most conspicuous buildings and lofty minarets in the far-famed city of Agra. Thither they marched very early the next morning, and arrived at day-break on the ninth of May, after a journey of six hundred and thirty-six miles from Surat, performed entirely on horseback, in fifty-five days including halts, at the hottest season of the year. Sir Charles preferred riding to either elephant or palanquin.

The country through which he travelled for several days past presented a melancholy picture, occasioned by a dreadful famine, which had sadly diminished population, and left the survivors in a state of misery. At Gwalier the whole suburbs were strewed with skeletons; from thence to Agra the villages were generally uninhabited, and the land become a wilderness from want of cultivation, but his arrival at Agra presented a scene lamentable beyond conception.

The gloom of the morning veiled the suburbs in a great measure from his observation. He entered the gates of Agra, or Akber-abad, with the early dawn, and proceeding through the quarter called Momtazabad, beheld on all sides the most melancholy objects of fallen grandeur: mosques, palaces, gardens, caravansaries, and mausoleums, mingled in one general ruin. Agra had been the frequent subject of the

travellers' conversation, they had anticipated much novelty, and expected every comfort at the close of their fatiguing journey. These considerations added to the poignancy of disappointment. Instead of the spacious squares and frequented streets of a great capital, it was with difficulty and danger they kept their horses on their feet amidst the magnificent, but terrible mass of ruin. Few persons can have an idea of the painful sensations excited by such a view of this once celebrated city, for few have the opportunity of contemplating an object so deplorable! In the midst of this chaotic heap of desolation, their attention was suddenly roused by a stupendous fabric bursting on their view, in complete repair and resplendent beauty—a splendid structure, with domes and minarets of the purest white, surmounting the dark umbrage of rich surrounding groves, produced in such a situation a most extraordinary effect.

Previous to his arrival, Sir Charles Malet had corresponded with Mr. James Anderson, the British resident at Sindia's durbar, and his last letter mentioned that the Taje Mahal had been appropriated by the Mahratta chief for his accommodation at Agra. This was the edifice which had now excited his astonishment, and thither he was immediately conducted. On alighting at the grand entrance, built of a light red stone, inlaid with white marble, he walked into a large court, with apartments on three sides like those of the serais. To the right and left of this square, a gate of similar construction opened into the street; near each of the gates is an enclosure containing a beautiful dome of white marble, sacred to the memory of eminent persons; opposite to these mausolea is a

spacious serai. Magnificent as was the first entrance, the one fronting it on the opposite side of the square was still more so; the roof being ornamented with two rows of small domes above the entablature, each row containing eleven of those elegant white cupolas with gilded spires. This superb portal, which indeed forms a spacious apartment, is ascended by a noble flight of steps; a similar descent on the other side leads to an extensive garden, enriched with groves of cypress and other trees. In the centre is a noble avenue, with a canal and fountains, leading to a large marble reservoir, with a beautiful jette d'eau. On each side of the garden is a respondent structure of elegant architecture; one a masjid, or place of worship, the other apparently intended for the accommodation of the great officers of the imperial court. Between those buildings, at the termination of the garden, on the banks of the river Jumna, stands the mausoleum of the empress Momtaz Mahal, deservedly the wonder of the eastern world.

Taje Mahal, standing due north and south on the southern bank of the river Jumna, was built by the command of the emperor Shah Jehan, for the interment of his favourite Sultana, *Momtaz Mahal*, pre-eminent, or most honoured of the seraglio; or *Momtaz al Zumani*, superior of the age; both having been the titles of the empress. This mausoleum is commonly called *Taje Gunse*, or *Taje Mahal*, meaning the repository, or the abode of the diadem, alluding allegorically to her, as the most brilliant gem of the seraglio. The word *seraglio* being an Italianization of *serah*, or *mohl serah*, signifying the female apartments held sacred among the Mahomedans. The posthu-

mous title of the empress was *Mehd Aulea*, which means "Reposing in Heaven."

The emperor Shah Jehan intended erecting a similar mausoleum for himself on the opposite side of the river, and connecting the two magnificent structures by a bridge; but succeeding events having prevented the completion of this great design, his remains were, by order of his son and successor, Aurungzebe, also deposited in this beautiful edifice, which, in point of design and execution, is one of the most extraordinary works anywhere extant. The admirable art and nicety of the masonry has hitherto withstood the effect of time: nor have successive barbarous and predatory conquerors yet violated its sanctity and beauty. Two great squares or areas contain the principal buildings; those of the outer one seem intended for the convenience of travellers, distant visitors, and the inferior officers and dependents of the roza, a name for the mausoleum, but implying something saintly or sanctified. The inner square, which is entered through a stupendous dome, with brass gates, most elaborately and exquisitely worked, is an entire garden, shaded by numerous stately trees, adorned by marble canals and a fine reservoir, studded with fountains through the middle avenue. The right and left boundaries of the garden are formed by magnificent buildings for recreation and devotion.

At the extremity of the garden, opposite the grand entrance, and overlooking the river, stands pre-eminent, and alone, elevated on a very extensive platform, having a lofty minaret at each corner, composed entirely of beautifully white marble, the imperial roza; in which, under the grand centre dome, rest the ashes of the emperor and his consort in separate tombs.

This building, in point of design and execution, is one of the most extensive, elegant, commodious, and perfect works, that was ever undertaken and finished by one man. To this celebrated architect the emperor Shah-Jehan gave the title of *Zerrcer Dust*, or jewel-handed, to distinguish him from all other artists. This extraordinary man, knowing the impatience of the emperor, and the peculiar situation of the intended structure, on the precarious banks of the river, after laying a strong foundation, secreted himself for twelve months, nor could the strictest search by imperial mandate discover his retreat. At the expiration of that period, he voluntarily appeared in the hall of audience, and throwing himself on the emperor's clemency, declared that he had absconded from the fear of being urged by his majesty to proceed with the superstructure before he had sufficiently proved the solidity of the foundation. Of this being now perfectly satisfied, he was ready to fulfil the imperial command.

On each side, and behind the mausoleum, is a suit of elegant apartments, also of white marble, highly decorated with coloured stones. The tombs and other principal parts of this vast fabric, are inlaid with wreaths of flowers and foliage in their natural colours, entirely composed of cornelians, onyxes, verd-antique, lapis-lazuli, and every variety of agates, so admirably finished as to have rather the appearance of an ivory model set with jewels, just delivered from the artist's hand, than an edifice which has withstood the inclemency of the elements a hundred and forty-seven years.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Journey from Agra to Gou Ghaut—Secundra, tomb of Akber—Ceremonies at the first public visit to Mhadajee Sindia—Bhinder Bhund—Dieuisthans—Singular gosaing—Visit to Shah Aalum, emperor of Delhi—Rebellion of Gulam Kaudir—Journey from Muttra to Delhi—Amcer's palaces—Zenana—Jumma musjid—Mausoleums—Tomb of Khan Khanna—Palaces on the banks of the Jumna—Return to Sindia's camp.*

ON Sir Charles Malet's arrival at Agra, some difficulties arose, with respect to his meeting with Mhadajee Sindia, who was then encamped at Muttra, about twenty-eight miles from the city, with Shah Aalum, the degraded emperor of Delhi. The purport of this intended meeting was to concert with Mhadajee Sindia the best mode of completing the establishment of the embassy to the court of Poonah, in the manner most compatible with the interests of the English and the views of this great chieftain, through whom those interests had been for some time conducted with the Peshwa of the Mahratta empire. This predicament, certainly of considerable delicacy, was soon cleared of its obstacles, by the address of Mr. James Anderson, then resident minister from the government-general of India, with Mhadajee Sindia.

On the 13th of May Sir Charles received a letter from Mr. Anderson, dated at Sindia's camp, informing

him that two Mahratta chiefs of rank and consequence, were deputed to wait upon him, and conduct the embassy to the camp near Muttra. The same evening Appajee arrived at Agra with a party of cavalry, and presented himself at Taje Mahal, having left his colleague with a much larger escort at Gou Ghaut, twelve miles from Agra. In consequence of this arrangement, and the cattle and attendants being well refreshed, the baggage was ordered to proceed on the following day : and on the 16th they left the terrestrial paradise surrounding the Taje-Mahal, and commenced their journey towards Sindia's camp. A melancholy scene, of ruin and desolation, similar to that already described, marked the first part of their progress from the royal gardens, through the suburbs and environs of Agra.

About half-way from thence to Gou Ghaut, or Ox-ford, they came to Secundra, celebrated for the mausoleum of Akber, situated within a large enclosure, resembling a park, shaded by noble trees, and entered by four handsome gates, leading to the roza, in the centre, which is a magnificent structure, inlaid with different coloured marble, agates, and precious stones, extremely rich and costly, but rather in a heavy style ; the part most ornamented is on the uppermost terrace, and having no cover, is entirely exposed to the weather ; it is exquisitely finished, and the platform of black and white marble. The tomb itself is of plain white marble. The interior of the arch at the principal entrance is adorned with verses, expressive of the founder's extensive fame, and numerous victories, with moral reflections on the instability of human greatness.

The road from thence to Gou Ghaut was extremely pleasant: Sir Charles was met there by Mhadajee's Sindia's duan, with a large party of horse to escort him to camp; he also received a letter from Mr. Anderson to express Sindia's wish that he would proceed as fast as convenient, being very desirous to have a personal interview. They arrived there the next morning, and found the Mahratta camp greatly enlarged by that of the emperor Shâh Aalum; who had appointed Mhadajee Sindia his vackeel ul mulluck, an office in the Mogul empire superior to the vizier Aazim. Mr. Anderson was also encamped near Muttra as English minister with the Mahratta chief, and was invested with powers to treat and negociate with the last aged monarch of the imperial house of Timur. His suite consisted of a surgeon and a British officer in command of the two companies of sepoy's which composed his guard.

The preliminaries of the ceremonial of the first meeting being arranged, the morning of the 20th was appointed for Sir Charles Malet's introduction to Mhadajee Sindia. Sir Charles and Mr. Anderson were mounted on the same elephant, and the gentlemen of their suite on others, or in palanquins. Mr. Anderson was escorted by a party of horse, appointed as a standing guard by the Mahratta chief; Sir Charles was attended by his own escort of horse and foot. They were met by Mhadajee Sindia some hundred yards from his tent, accompanied by his principal chiefs, a party of sepoy's, a body of cavalry, and several elephants: he there alighted from his elephant, and being extremely lame, was supported by two persons as he approached to embrace Sir Charles Malet, and



the other gentlemen, in the order they were introduced by Mr. Anderson. He then preceded them to the durbar tent, where Sir Charles delivered Sindia a letter from the governor of Bombay. General conversation ensued, in which the Mahratta chief took a principal part, and in the course of it a gun of his own making was handed round for approbation, which was very liberally, and not undeservedly bestowed, if it really was of his construction. But although he certainly has a turn for mechanics, the gun was rather supposed to have been the production of the artificers whom he employs than of his own hands.

After the presents had been distributed, and the usual formalities performed, the English gentlemen proceeded to their tents. On examining the *khelauts*, or presents, from the great Maha rajah Mhadajee Sindia, the *serpeych* (an ornament for the turban) presented to Sir Charles Malet was found to be composed of false stones; the horse and other articles of mean quality. The presents to the gentlemen of his family were two pieces of coarse chintz, a pair of very common shawls, an ordinary turban, and a piece of the cheapest *keemcab*.

On the 26th Sir Charles went to Bhindera Bhund, a town about seven miles from Muttra, in high estimation with the Hindoos, and particularly celebrated as the birth-place of Crishna, the Apollo of India, in the Brahmin mythology. The town is rather large, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Jumna, on which, also, for near a mile in length, extends a range of small buildings called *Dieuisthans*, little Altars or Temples, with steps down to the water from each, for the convenience of the inhabitants, and religious pilgrims who

resort thither to perform their ablutions. They are very neat, and form a pretty crescent of buildings, as the river takes that form in its course under them. In the centre is an elegant house on a small scale, lately built by the Jaypoor rajah. The exterior is decorated by a profusion of carved work, which does credit to the artist, and indicates some traces still remaining of that ingenuity which so eminently distinguishes the more ancient buildings in India. Here, seated on a cot in the uppermost apartment, Sir Charles saw a gosaing, to whom the people who conducted him paid the greatest veneration, and related a number of improbabilities, and not a few impossibilities, of this respectable personage. Among others, that he had been cast into a fire without being burnt, and could tread on the surface of the water without wetting his feet. On questioning the Brahmins whether they believed the stories they were now relating, they shrewdly replied, that as the gosaing was in high estimation with Himmüt Bahaudur, and other chiefs of consequence, how could they discredit them?

On the 5th of June, at six o'clock in the morning, Sir Charles paid his visit, under Mr. James Anderson's introduction, to Shah Allum, king of the world, whose encampment was not far from Sindia's head-quarters. On approaching the extensive inclosure of kinnauts, or canvas walls, which surrounded the imperial tents, he descended from his elephant, and got into a palanquin. An amazing crowd of people filled the avenue, who were so intermingled and confused with the guard, that it was difficult to distinguish them. Before he entered the line, he was met by some officers of state to adjust the number of his attendants ; it was settled

that each gentleman of the suite should take only one servant. He then advanced towards the durbar tent, which was about fifty paces distant, where he discovered his imperial majesty seated on a silver throne ready to receive him. Three of his sons were standing on his right hand, and three on his left; and at the foot of the throne stood a favourite daughter about seven years old, having a turban on her head instead of a veil; his majesty was also attended by the few nobles who still adhered to the fallen monarch, and by a host of gold and silver stick-bearers. At this distance from the throne Sir Charles was instructed to make the *tusleem*, or obeisance, three times. This ceremony consists in touching the ground with the right hand, and then carrying it to the head. He then advanced to the foot of the throne, where without speaking he presented his nuzzars, or offerings. They consisted of gold mohurs, each of the value of about two pounds sterling, rich shawls, keemcabs, and cloths of various kinds; with several curiosities in agates, cut-glass, and silver filagree caskets, which his majesty seemed to admire; though the expression of any sensation is generally held incompatible with Mogul dignity on such occasions. A few gold mohurs were presented to each of the princes. The offering of a soldier is his sword, and the acceptance of it is signified by touching it.

His majesty and the imperial princes having graciously accepted of the several tokens of respect offered, Sir Charles returned to the place of obeisance, and thrice repeated the compliment, having received an intimation from one of the ushers to take the greatest care in retiring, not to turn his back on the throne.

He now took his stand with the rest of the gentlemen on the left of his majesty, with his hands placed one upon the other, laid across upon the waist. The emperor then entered into conversation relative to the country he had passed through in his long journey. In a short time he was informed that his *kullat* (honorary dress) was prepared in a place allotted for his investiture. In his way thither he had to stop at the salaming spot, and perform the *tusleem* a third time. From thence being conducted into a pavilion open to numerous spectators, he was invested with a Mogul robe over his coat. When, for the fourth time, he paid his respects at the usual spot, and advanced to the foot of the throne, to shew himself in his new habiliments. His majesty then condescended to tie with his own hands a serpeych on Sir Charles's hat, and caused a bridle, as the symbol of a horse, and an aunkus, the symbol of an elephant, to be delivered to him. The aunkas is the instrument by which the elephant is driven and controlled ; its handle is generally of wood, having an iron point to goad forward, and a hook to restrain or keep back. These additional marks of favour caused a repetition of Sir Charles's retrograde steps to the place of obeisance, from whence he returned to his station among the courtiers. Having thus paid his respects for this high distinction, the emperor conferred upon him a still higher honour by a phirmaun of Mogul nobility, as an ameer of the empire. After waiting for some time longer in the demure attitude abovementioned, without a word being uttered by any person, the *King of the World* descended from his throne, and Sir Charles moved once more to perform his obeisance. During this etiquette at the

Mogul durbar, if his majesty asks any person present after his health, he must immediately make the retrograde motions and perform the tusleem. This was now practised by Mr. Anderson, who received that condescending mark of royal distinction. The gentlemen of the suite were likewise invested with the *kullat*.

On his return to the tents Sir Charles found a horse and an elephant, the addition to his *kullat*. The royal gifts of a horse, an elephant, a princely dress, and a tiara of jewels, sound very grand ; and as a part of the formula of the introduction of eminent visitors at the Mogul court, were not to be despised ; but on examination, the diamond and emerald serpeych was found to be composed of green glass and false stones ; the horse was worn out, and in the last stage of existence ; and the elephant, on taking off his trappings, discovered a long ulcerated wound on the back, from the shoulder to the tail. The whole was emblematical of the fallen state of the unfortunate monarch, or rather the shadow of a prince, by whom they were presented. But for the honour of the imperial dignity it should be added, that Mhadajee Sindia, who had recently assumed the high office of *vackeel ul mulluck*, or absolute minister, supplied every thing on this occasion, even to the minutest article.

This unfortunate representative of the Timurean race was about sixty years of age, of the common stature, and of a countenance bespeaking a placid and benignant mind ; with an air and deportment of habitual dignity tempered by much affability. Three years after this interview he fell into the hands of Gulam Kaudir Khán, a rebellious chieftain, who caused the aged monarch to be blinded in a most barbarous manner.

Gulam Kaudir Khán was the son of Zabda Khán : his father disinherited him and drove him from his presence on account of his vices and crimes. Shah Aalum, the emperor of Delhi, took him under his protection, treated him as his own son, and conferred on him the first title in the kingdom, Omeel ul Omraow : he lived with the emperor, and raised a body of about eight thousand troops of his own countrymen, the Moguls, which he commanded. Gulam Kaudir was of a passionate temper, haughty, cruel, ungrateful, and debauched.

In the latter end of the year 1788, the emperor had formed suspicions that some of the neighbouring rajahs would make an attempt to plunder and destroy his territories : these suspicions were verified by the approach of a considerable army towards his capital, commanded by Ismael Beg Khan, and assisted by Dowlut Row Sindia. Gulam Kaudir told the emperor on this, that he had nothing to fear, he having an army sufficiently strong to oppose the enemy ; and that all the emperor had to do, was to march out with his troops, give them a supply of cash, and he would stake his head on the enemy's being overcome. To this the emperor replied, that he had no money to carry on the contest. Gulam Kaudir said this should be no objection, as he would advance the necessary supply of cash, and that all his majesty had to do was to head the army. " This," said he, " will animate and give them courage, as the presence of a monarch is above half the battle." The emperor agreed in appearance, and requested Gulam Kaudir to assemble the army, pay their arrears, and inform them of his intentions. Gulam Kaudir retired contented, but great was his astonish-

ment when he intercepted, the next day, a letter from the emperor to Sindia, desiring him to make all possible haste and destroy Gulam Kaudir ; “for,” as the letter expresses it, “Gulam Kaudir desires me to act contrary to my wishes, and oppose you.”

On this discovery Gulam Kaudir marched out with his Moguls, crossed the Jumna, and encamped on the other side, opposite to the fort of Delhi. He then sent the emperor the intercepted letter, and asked him if his conduct did not deserve to be punished by the loss of his throne ? He began to besiege the fort, and carried it in a few days ; he entered the palace in arms, flew to his majesty’s chamber, treated the aged monarch in the most barbarous manner, knocked him down, and kneeling on his breast, took out one of his eyes, and ordered a servant of the emperor to take out the other.

After this he gave the place up to pillage, and went to the royal zenana, where he insulted the ladies, tore the jewels from their noses and ears, and cut off their arms and legs. As he had lived with the emperor, he was well acquainted with the places where the royal treasures were concealed ; he dug up the stone of the emperor’s own bed-chamber, and found there two chests, containing in specie a hundred and twenty thousand gold mohurs, about two hundred thousand pounds sterling ; this he carried off, with other considerable sums. To get at the hidden jewels of the women, he practised one of the most villainous schemes ever thought of ; he ordered that all the emperor’s ladies and daughters should come and pay their respects to him, and promised to set free those who should please him by their appearance and dress. The innocent unthink-

ing women brought out their jewels, and adorned themselves in their richest attire to please this savage. Gulam Kaudir commanded them to be conveyed to a hall, where he had prepared common dresses for them. These dresses he made them put on by the assistance of eunuchs ; and taking possession of their rich dresses and jewels, he sent the women home to the palace to lament their loss and curse his treachery. Gulam Kaudir did not stop even here, but insulted the princesses by making them dance and sing. The most beautiful of the emperor's daughters, Mobarouk ul Moulk, was brought to the tyrant to gratify his lust ; but she resisted, and is said to have stabbed herself to avoid force.

Sindia soon after this came to the assistance of the emperor, or rather to make him his prey. Gulam Kaudir fled, and took refuge in the fort of Agra. Sindia's troops besieged him there. Perceiving at last that he must be taken if he remained in the fort, he took advantage of a dark night, stuffed his saddle with a large quantity of precious stones, took a few followers, and fled from the fort towards Persia. Unluckily for him, he fell off his horse the second night after his flight, and by this means a party of horse, which had been sent in pursuit of him, came up and took him prisoner. He was brought to Sindia : who after exposing him for some time in irons, and some time in a cage, ordered his ears, nose, hands and feet to be cut off, and his eyes taken out, in which state he was allowed to expire.

No immediate object presenting to occupy the attention of Sir Charles after his conferences with Mhadajee Sindia and Shah Aalum, he adopted the plan



of visiting Delhi, the ancient and far-famed capital of Hindostan ; and having obtained the emperor's permission, and a party of horse from Mhadajee Sindia, the embassy proceeded thither on the 7th of June 1785, and reached it on the 10th.

The journey from Muttra to Delhi was not very interesting ; the country entirely flat, with the Mewat hills in the distance, was no doubt fertile and pleasant in the flourishing state of the capital, but now, almost depopulated by famine, and the oppressions of the late changeable and rapacious occupants, it presented a melancholy aspect. In consequence of its uncultivated state, rats had multiplied in the fields in a most extraordinary manner, and wolves had become formidably numerous.

At the different stages on this road there are in general good serais, and large towns and villages mostly on eminences, which, as the country is entirely a plain, were most probably formed by the succession of buildings and ruins for ages past, on the same spot. The road is infested by tribes of banditti called googurs and mewatties ; but a light escort of fifty cavalry was a sufficient protection from insult. The infantry and heavy baggage were left at the encampment near Muttra. The soil between Agra and Delhi is uniformly sandy, entirely covered with a wild shrub called conkra, bearing a flower resembling the ranunculus, succeeded by a pod, which opening when ripe, scatters abroad a kind of silky cotton, containing the seed, which overruns the country. The lactaceous juice of the whole plant is used externally by the natives, as a remedy against bruises and sprains. What is thought remarkable in this part of Hindostan, and would hardly be

credited by an inhabitant of Guzerat, is, that the whole of this sandy plain, which in a state of culture, produced abundant crops of excellent wheat.

Handsome brick minarets of a considerable height, instead of stones, as in Europe, mark the distance from Agra to Delhi, many of them in very good repair ; but the road having, in course of time, and by the prostration of property, been much altered, they are in many places a great way from the present road.

The ruins of serais, mosques, mausoleums, and other magnificent structures, commenced about three or four miles before the entrance of the present city. Amidst the melancholy heaps, the tomb of the emperor Humaioon, still in perfect preservation, stands conspicuous ; the obelisk of Cutbal Deen is equally so, at a distance on the left. About a mile and a half from the gate of the new city of Shah Jehanabad is the old fort, standing in the midst of the ruins of the old city of Delhi ; it is a most ponderous structure, and of great antiquity ; but the excellence of its masonry, notwithstanding its being totally neglected, has in general withstood the ravages of time. From some circumstances, particularly the appearance of the only gate toward the river Jumna, it seems to have been originally visited by its stream, though the channel is now at least half a mile from it. The new city called Shah Jehan-abad, from its founder Shah Jehan, is about sixteen miles in circuit, and now occupies the space between the old city and the river on whose bank it stands. Its citadel is the imperial palace ; the streets are broad and level, mostly paved with brick, but the houses are low and mean. An aqueduct occupies the centre of the principal streets, built by the Ameer Ally Murdaen Khan, by

which he brought water from Kurnal to Delhi, a distance of seventy miles ; the greater part is now in ruins.

The ameer's palaces, though extremely spacious and elegantly disposed within, make no figure from without, being all excluded from observation by walls, and a dewry, or gateway, in which there is room for an ample guard ; and over it for the nobut-konna, or band of music, which is one of the appendages of certain ranks of nobility. It was usual for all the Mogul ameers to have mansions in the capital. Their magnitude in general, on account of their immense establishment, exceeded any of the palaces belonging to the nobility in Europe. Not only the palaces above mentioned, but in fact every habitable house is in Shah Jehan-abad. The old city of Delhi is an entire scene of desolation ; not a human being to be seen in the ancient metropolis of this vast empire.

The travellers entered the new city at the Delhi gate leading to a long street of a miserable appearance, containing one very handsome musjid, with gilded domes ; from thence they were conducted along one face of the fort, to the house, or rather palace, allotted for their accommodation. It was a spacious edifice, or rather a multiplication of courts and edifices, built by Sufder Jung ; still belonging to his descendant Asuph ul Dowlah, and lately occupied by his vackeel, the eunuch Lutafut, a man of great consequence at this period. Here they found convenient quarters for all their party, totally distinct from each other ; also for their cattle and attendants.

In the evening, on taking a more complete view of this Mogul mansion, they were surprised to find the apartments just mentioned formed only a very small

part of this immense pile, which occupies six squares, corresponding with that in which they immediately resided. Each of them comprising an elegant mansion, capable of accommodating, in a magnificent style, half a dozen numerous families, while the various ranges of inferior rooms, lodges, and out-offices of every description, were amply sufficient to cover, at the least, five thousand troops; there were also stables for five hundred horses.

The hall, which Sir Charles converted into a dining-room, was a square of sixty-three feet, opening in front to a pretty garden, and backwards to a large tank, paved with marble, for cold bathing. Two rows of handsome pillars in front gave it an elegant appearance; the roof of carved wood was beautifully painted. On each side of the hall was a central large room, and two smaller, the former with a cove roof, the latter under a dome. The panels, walls, and ceilings of these rooms were all carved and painted with taste, the concave roofs ornamented with borders and compartments of chain-work, painted white, and the interstices filled with looking-glass. The windows were of a composition like isinglass, which only the nicest examination, or the touch, could distinguish from glass. They had a peculiar light and airy appearance, disposed in a pretty tracery. The small recesses, which in most Indian buildings are formed in the walls, and generally produce a disagreeable effect, are in these rooms rendered ornamental by the well-adapted expedient of introducing fruit and flowers, painted in a brilliant style.

Some smaller apartments in a different quarter, which formed part of the haram, were entirely lined

with looking-glass, and the octagonal columns around them covered with the same material. This range, when illuminated in the former profuse fashion of the Moguls, must have made a brilliant appearance. In this zenana was another species of eastern luxury, in the apartment called *surd conna*, or *teh konna*, which signifies in Persian, cool place, or below-ground place. This consisted of a subterraneous gallery, divided into three distinct rooms ; the whole occupied a space seventy-eight feet long, by twenty-seven broad. The side divisions were raised two steps above the centre, which was entered through two arches, formed by marble pillars, exquisitely wrought ; in front was a low elegant railing ; and between the side rooms, within these marble arches, were three fountains, to cool the atmosphere when the ladies were there assembled, such places being generally appropriated to the pleasures of the voluptuous Mogul, and his favourites in the haram. The whole of this singular apartment, the walls, pavement, and pillars are of delicate white marble ; the concave domes which form the roof are richly painted, in such a manner as to produce the effect of blue and silver. The light is admitted by three lattices, so constructed as to prevent the rays of the sun.

The jumma musjid is a noble building, which does honour to the magnificent taste of its founder, the emperor Shah Jehan, who erected this superb edifice five years after the completion of the Taje Mahal at Agra. The entrances are all extremely grand, the lofty minars elegantly fluted, and the whole in good preservation. Besides the jumma musjid, are many smaller mosques ; some with gilded domes make a

dazzling appearance, the majority are of plainer materials, and many falling to decay.

Sir Charles's limited stay at Delhi prevented his seeing more of the city than came within the compass of one morning's ride. On leaving the jumma musjid, he proceeded through several streets, despicably poor, and thinly inhabited. Two or three of a larger size seemed more populous, were of considerable breadth, and occupied by the aqueduct already mentioned in the centre, now in a state of dilapidation.

The fort of Delhi has more the appearance of an ornamented wall, constructed round a royal residence, than a fortification against an enemy. To such an extreme has this expensive taste been carried, that all the towers erected at stated distances along the walls of the fortress, are covered with domes of white marble, richly ornamented with gold.

In the suburbs are the celebrated mausoleums. That of Humaioon is truly magnificent, and occupies a large space; the centre dome is uncommonly bold, and admirably formed; the lower part divided into numerous sepulchral chambers, each containing the tomb of some relation of the royal line, whose body is deposited beneath the platform. These chambers, connected with each other, penetrate the whole extent, and were individually appropriated to a descendant of the house of Timur. These are too numerous to particularise; but among them is the chamber of Allum Geer Saunce, father of Shah Aalum the present emperor; another containing the remains of his eldest son; a third of his sister. The tombs placed over the bodies are all of plain

white marble chunam, the exterior sepulchres of white marble.

The mausoleum of Khan Khannah, or Lord of Lords, the vizier of Humaioon, stands near the sepulchre of his royal master. This edifice is said to be characteristic of its founder, constructed at a great expense without taste or elegance, and such was the extraordinary dissipation and extravagance of Khan Khannah as to have become proverbial. He was originally a slave named Phaheem, Khan Khannah being his honorary title, which gave occasion to this proverb, peculiarly expressive in the Persian language; "what Khan Khannah amasses, Phaheem squanders." The stories related of his boundless profusion are not less numerous than wonderful.

Within the compass of half a mile are several other large structures, sacred to the memory of Mogul ameers or nobles, and peers, or holy men, some of elegant proportion. One mausoleum, beautiful in appearance, and delightful in situation, at three miles distance, containing the remains of Munsure Ally Khan, grandfather of Asuph ul Dowlah, is executed with great taste. On that side of the city which is washed by the Jumna, are a number of beautiful palaces and pavilions, situated in the midst of verdant groves; their gilded domes, and varied style of architecture, reflected in the clear stream gliding gently below the walls. The Jumna at Delhi is so extremely narrow, and the stream of so little depth, that the washermen cross it in many places not higher than their middle. The opposite country is so extremely low, that in the rainy season it must be entirely under water.

The next evening (13th of June) the travellers set off on their return to Sindia's camp, and the object of Sir Charles Malet's mission to Mhadajee Sindia having been accomplished by the conciliation of that chieftain to the establishment of his embassy at the court of Poonah, he received orders early in July to proceed to Calcutta, there to receive the requisite powers and instructions from the Governor-General, Sir John Macpherson, who had succeeded Mr. Hastings since the commencement of the embassy, for carrying the negotiations into effect. He left Agra on the 21st of July, to cross the *Doanb*, the Mesopotamia of India, for Caumpore, the nearest military station belonging to the East India Company under the Bengal government.



## CHAPTER XV.

Departure of the Embassy from Agra for Calcutta—Ferozabad—Shakuabad—Jesswant-Nugghur—Ettaya—Akberpore—Caunpore—Dreadful Ferocity of the Wolves—Embark for Calcutta—Allahabad—Junction of the Jumna and Ganges—Chunar—Ramnaghur—Benares—Buxar—Chuprah—Dinapore—Banquepore—Patna—Snowy Mountains—Hot Wells—Mongheer—Bhangulpore—Colgong—Rajemahl—Jumma Musjid—Bhaugretty River—Cossimbazar—Moorsheabad—Lake of Pearls—Palace—Curious Dwarf Horses—Desserah—A Hindoo Festival—Plassey—Quantity of Game destroyed on a Shooting Party—Baugretty and Jellinghy Rivers—Drowning of dying Hindoos—Dandies, or Boatmen on the Ganges—Their Mode of Life—Chinsura Chandernagore, Serampore—Arrival at Calcutta.

THE journal of Mr. Cruso thus continues:—Sir Charles Malet, having made every arrangement necessary for our journey to Caunpore, we left Agra in the afternoon of the 21st of July, and made our first stage to Hemetpore, six coss distant. The country was neither interesting nor well cultivated; about half-way we crossed a deep narrow river, provided with a ferry-boat at the pass, and on arriving at Hemetpore, put up for the night under a large dome in the centre of a tank, and found it a comfortable accommodation.

The rainy season in this part of Hindostan commenced the beginning of June. So much had fallen when we left Delhi, as to render our journey from

thence to Agra extremely delightful, and clothe the country with fresh verdure. Having made arrangements to travel chiefly in palanquins, and proceed a morning and evening stage each day during the remainder of the journey, we set off at four the next morning for Ferozabad, where we arrived at nine, and halted until evening in a small mosque, about five hundred yards from the town, near a large pleasant garden. Ferozabad, seven coss from Hemetpore, is a large populous town, belonging to Hemet Bahauder, miserably infested by religious beggars.

When the sun declined we commenced our second stage of five coss to Shakuabad; something more than half way we came to Muckenpore, the commencement of the territory belonging to Asuph-ul-Dowlah, nabob of Oude. The road was generally through a flat marshy country, abounding with water-fowl, except near the entrance of Shakuabad, where a gentle rise of hills diversified the prospect. We passed the night within the serai, and found the town noisy, populous, and full of prostitutes.

The next morning, at day-break, we left our disagreeable lodging, and travelling through a marshy country, and heavy rain, proceeded to Jesswant Nugghur, fourteen coss from Shakuabad. It is a spacious town, well inhabited, but overrun with Fakeers and other mendicants, who might be usefully employed in cleaning the streets, which are filthy to the last degree. The general aspect of the district this day, though flat, was beautifully wooded, and abounded with antelopes.

On the 24th we left Jesswant-Nugghur before sunrise, and travelling six coss through a beautiful country, and a good road, we reached Attowe, or Ettaya, at

eight o'clock. Here we were accommodated with a large house in the midst of a garden, profusely stocked with roses, jasmín, tuberose, and other flowers, varied by fruit-trees. We stopped at Adjut-Mhel and Auriah, large and populous towns. The road was excellent, and the country uncommonly beautiful, especially between Cojepore and Secundra; the former is remarkable for the ruins of a grand scrai, and a noble tank, in a sad state of dilapidation. Secundra is surrounded by beautiful groves. We passed the night among some majestic ruins, on the margin of a large tank without the town, which contains nothing remarkable.

Soon after three o'clock on the next morning, we proceeded through a wild country to Tunwapore, a wretched village, almost depopulated, and affording no convenience for a traveller, except a shady clump of trees, where we halted six or seven hours, and then renewed our journey to Akberpore, which we reached at sun-set. The greater part of the road was through a country intersected by deep gullies, particularly near the river Singore, where we found a ferry-boat at the pass. After crossing it, we re-entered the ravines and gullies, at this season covered with jungle, or underwood, in full verdure. This irregular scenery differs widely from the rest of the country called the *Dooab*, or Mesopotamia of India. Emerging from these gullies about two miles from Akberpore, we entered a lovely plain, and reached the town by an excellent road. It is not easy to fancy a more delightful spot for the accommodation of an oriental traveller. The buildings are spacious, the groves shady and varied, and the prospects no less singular than magnificent. In our

front was an ancient edifice, on the margin of an extensive lake, with a picturesque island in the centre; a building of modern architecture, never finished, adorned the brow of a hill half a mile further, near a large tank, environed by pagodas, mosques, minars, and other decorations, each deserving a particular description.

The next day brought us to Caunpore, a large cantonment belonging to the East India Company, on the west bank of the Ganges, situated in the *Douab*, literally *two-waters*, being that tract of country lying between the Jumna and the Ganges, over which we had now travelled from Agra to Caunpore, a distance of one hundred and seventy miles.

The whole road from Agra, on the banks of the Jumna, to Caunpore on the Ganges, is through a flat country and a light soil, apparently fertile, and richly wooded, with beautiful mango groves, and other umbrageous trees. The inhabitants in general, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, are tall and handsome, with a peculiar neatness, I could almost say elegance, of form and feature. They are also reckoned remarkably brave and high-spirited. The villages have commonly little mud forts attached to them, which on the late reduction of the country by the vizier, frequently made a gallant defence, even against our regular troops acting with him: those forts are now mostly dismantled. As we left the Jumna, and approached the Ganges, we found the country more populous, better cultivated, and abundant in cattle, the late famine having raged with much less violence in this part of the Douab. I wish also to impute it in some measure to the better

government of our ally the vizier, under British influence.

The vicinity of Caunpore had been for some time infested by wolves. These savage animals were it seems first attracted thither in such numbers, during the late dreadful famine, by the dead bodies of the poor wretches, who, crawling for relief, perished through weakness before they could obtain it; and filled up every avenue to the cantonment with their sad remains. Long accustomed to human food, they would not leave their haunts, and were now grown so fierce, that they not only frequently carried off children, but actually attacked the sentries on their posts, who had in consequence been doubled. The first night the embassy arrived at Caunpore, Sir Charles Malet ordered his cot, or bed, to be placed in the garden, and was surprised in the morning to hear that a goat had been carried off from very near the place where he slept.

Three of these monsters attacked a sentinel, who after shooting one, and dispatching another with his bayonet, was overpowered by the third, and killed at his post. While the embassy was there, a man, his wife, and child, were sleeping in their hut, the former at a little distance, the mother was awakened by the struggles and shrieks of the child locked in her arms, which a prowling wolf had seized by the leg, and was dragging from her bosom. She grasped the infant, and exerted all her strength to preserve it from the foe, but in vain; the ravenous animal tore it from her maternal embrace, and instantly devoured it.

After a few days at Caunpore, on the 10th of

August we reluctantly entered the budgerows, or boats, provided for our voyage to Calcutta, consisting of one for each gentleman, a kitchen-boat, and others for the clerks and servants of the embassy.

On the 15th we reembarked, and keeping close along the banks of the Ganges, covered at this season by the most luxuriant vegetation, we had a distinct view of a varied scenery, consisting of pagodas, fortresses, and villages, in various stages of prosperity and decay; with dark groves and rich pastures, abounding with flocks and herds; which, uniting with the irregularity of the shore, afforded a constant succession of delightful objects.

We arrived on the 18th at Allahabad, an imperial fortress built by Akber, Jehanghire, and Shah Jehan, (three succeeding princes on the throne of Delhi) on the site of the ancient and holy Hindoo city Praag, proudly situated at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna: one face of the fortifications extends along the banks of each of these celebrated rivers. The outward appearance of the walls resembles that of Agra and Delhi, though less magnificent. The expensive gates and other costly workmanship, rather indicate the elegant enclosure of a palace than a strong and judicious fortification. In the first is a pillar inscribed in Persian characters with the names of the imperial descendants of Timur; the expenses of the building are engraved in the Hindoo language. The second court forms an oblong square, surrounded by a range of handsome apartments, covered with domes, formerly occupied by the royal household. The third square contains the famous subterranean Hindoo temple, erected over the pepel-tree, from whence the city

takes its name. This celebrated tree is said to have resisted every attempt made by the Mahomedan invaders to destroy it, and many are the stories told to that purpose. In consequence of these vain efforts, the Mahomedans themselves are said to have called the spot Allahabad, or the abode of God.

The temple being perfectly dark, we descended by torch-light to a square supported by numerous pillars, extremely damp, and pervious to the water from the surface, which drops down in many places, and makes the floor wet and dirty. The sides are filled with niches, containing a variety of Hindoo deities of a similar character, and much the same kind of sculpture as many in the excavations at the Elephanta. On the side facing the sea is the celebrated pepel-tree, (*ficus religiosa*, Lin.) preserved by miracle, and surrounded by a low circular wall, like most consecrated trees of the Hindoos.

The inner square contains the palace; situated in the centre, it overlooks twelve other squares, in which were the habitations of the royal concubines, where the voluptuous monarch could receive the homage of the whole without moving from his apartments. The palace is heavy, incommodious, and ill executed. It forms a square, with a fountain and cascade on each front. The zenana indicates nothing remarkable in its structure, but the side overlooking the Jumna is very pleasant, above a large court, where the emperor, seated in an upper pavilion, received the prostrations of his subjects.

The grand mosque going fast to decay, is debased to a grain-market. It has been extremely beautiful, and its situation at the immediate confluence of the

two rivers, is truly fine. The Hindoo bathing-place is at the bottom of the fort; a flight of indifferent steps leads to the Ganges, where the Brahmins make the sacred marks on the face after performing their ablutions. There are three remarkable trees opposite Poppamow, called by the natives Valattee-Emlee, or Europe tamarind, the *Adansonia* of Linnaeus; the centre one measures thirty-two feet six inches round the trunk, the tree on the left nearly an inch more, and the other not quite thirty feet. They grow within fifty yards of the Ganges; and about three hundred yards distance is another of still larger circumference. The branches of these celebrated trees rise from the trunks by a large base, disproportioned to their general bulk. The fruit was extremely small when I saw it, and covered with a down of light green like velvet; it ripens in February, when it is the size of a coconut, containing a white pulp, abounding with red seeds. The Brahmins spoke highly of this fruit, thinking it extremely delicious, and the acid peculiarly grateful.

The mausoleum of Kusroe, the son of Jehanghire, and brother of Shah Jehan, said to have been assassinated by his connivance, stands at the extremity of Allahabad, without the walls, near the tombs of his mother and sister. The tomb of Kusroe is of plain white marble; the dome which covers it, and all the rest of the whole structure, is free-stone. The garden shews the remains of walks, canals, and fountains; the buildings are appropriated to a battalion of sepoys stationed here by the vizier. The town in general is populous, the streets long and straggling, the



houses mean, and such of the women as fell under our notice, remarkably plain.

In respect to the junction of the Ganges and Junna, the velocity with which the latter rushes into the former is worthy of remark. It occasions a visible rise across the stream, and turned round the boat in which we attempted crossing, with an inconceivable rapidity.

From Allahabad we went down the Ganges on the 21st to Chunar, called by the natives Chundal-Ghur. This fort is strongly situated on a hill, with a disadvantage of being commanded by one still higher. The commandant's house is a fine building, and the staff officers have an excellent suite of apartments. The mausoleums of Shah Cossim Soolimanee, and Shah Wassub, are singularly beautiful; and the stone railings which enclose these shrines, are curiously wrought in open mosaic patterns. The quarries at Chunar furnish abundantly a light-coloured stone, resembling Portland stone, which is easily worked, and well adapted for public buildings of the natives, on which they lavish a variety of ornamental sculpture. The city of Calcutta is supplied with this useful article from the quarries at Chunar, easily transported by water.

We next stopped a short time at Ramnaghur, where a heavy pile of building forms a fortified palace on the brink of the river; behind it is the town of Ramnaghur, from whence a road is carried for about a mile through fields of roses and mogrees, to the new pagoda, tank, and gardens, left unfinished by the famous ex-rajah Cheyte Sihng. The garden and tank are each two hundred yards square. The pagoda is

erected on an eminence about fifty yards from the steps by which the Hindoos descend to the water at their ablutions. This building is of that heavy style so common in the Hindoo temples; but some sculpture from their mythology on the exterior is better than usual; the attitudes easy and graceful, especially the musicians, playing before the divinities, assembled in groups. The interior sculpture is reckoned still more beautiful.

The following evening, 26th, we crossed over to Benares, nearly opposite, an extensive and populous town, but the streets narrow and dirty, the houses mean, and the women neither so cleanly or delicate as the Hindoos in general. A great nuisance here is the number of yogees, senassees, and nanghas, or religious mendicants, who go about entirely naked; we occasionally met a few of these people at other places, but at Benares they abound. The three most remarkable things here, are the pagodas, the observatory, and the Jumna Musjid. The lofty minars of the latter are conspicuous at a great distance; from the gallery on one of them we had a complete view of the city, which, from the narrow streets and crowded population, presents a scene of great confusion. There are some large houses, which appear to little advantage in their close situation; those on the banks of the Ganges have greatly the advantage, and seen from the river make a good appearance.

The three principal pagodas are sacred to Andepora, Gunga, and Vississore. These owe their celebrity more to their reputed sanctity, and the immense concourse of pilgrims from all parts of Hindostan, than to any superiority in architecture or sculpture. They

are small, heavy, and confusedly crowded with ornaments ill executed, excepting the figure of Sureje, the Sun, seated on a car drawn by a horse with seven heads, driven by a furious charioteer. It is to be remarked, that most probably these are allegorical representations of the days of the week ; and Sir Charles Malet thinks the months, hours, and other component parts of the designation or division of time, are introduced into this piece of curious sculpture. Near these temples I was disgusted with seeing fifty or sixty of those naked mendicants, employed in rolling small balls of sacred mud, on each of which they stuck a single grain of rice, and arranged them in great order along the front of the verandas, for the Hindoo devotees to offer as a sacrifice to the Ganges.

From thence we proceeded to the Observatory, so renowned throughout India, and the subject of much discussion in Europe. We ascended by a flight of steps to an open terrace, where several astronomical instruments, formed of stone, are in perfect preservation. The principal object is a large semicircle graduated, seemingly intended for a dial. So far from ascribing this Observatory to remote antiquity, I do not consider it to have been erected above a century.

We left Benares and our hospitable friends there, on the 1st of September, and on the 3d arrived at Buxar, a neat little fortress erected on an eminence, commanding a great extent of flat country, adorned with rich groves and plantations. The lines are extensive, intended principally as shelter for the ryots in case of an attack ; the whole is uncommonly neat, and in excellent order. On the 4th we passed the long straggling towns of Chuprah and Cherun. At

Chuprah is a factory of saltpetre and opium; all the latter produced in Berah is collected at this place. A variety of nullahs, or brooks, which intersect the neighbouring plains, pour their streams into the Ganges near Chuprah. Here also are a number of wide-spreading banian-trees, many of them walled round and consecrated.

So great is the rise and overflow of the Ganges this season, that the eye cannot discover the extent: and the villages are so entirely surrounded that they appear to be floating. Indeed, the lower part of most of the houses are under water, and the inhabitants betake themselves to stages erected for the purpose. From thence we reached Dinapore on the 4th, and dined with some friends we had formerly known with General Goddard's detachment at Surat, in the elegant and extensive cantonments which are said to have cost the Company twenty-five lacks of rupees. They form a large and small square, and each suite of apartments consists of a hall or sitting-room, and a bed-chamber on each side; the field-officers' quarters are excellent; those belonging to the commanding officer form an elegant and spacious building. The kitchens and offices are at a proper distance. The area of the principal square is a grass plot, divided by gravel walks into four equal parts, regularly planted with beautiful nym or lym-trees.

From Dinapore we proceeded, September 21, to Banquepore, a few miles from Patna, and the residence of the civil servants on that station. On landing, we visited the gola, a building intended for a public granary, or a deposit of grain, to be provided, as are similar ones at other stations, against the future

ravages of famine. Its external appearance is that of an immense dome, covering one of rather smaller dimensions, within which the grain is deposited.

The following morning we rode from Banquepore to Patna, to view the monument erected in commemoration of the massacre in the year 1763, ordered by Cossim Ally Khan, and executed by Samnoo. By this inhuman mandate upwards of two hundred civilians, military officers and soldiers, prisoners with Cossim Ally, were deliberately murdered. The monument stands near the house where the cruel deed was committed; it is surrounded by an enclosure which forms the English burying-ground. The column is in a good style, but has neither an inscription, nor any device explanatory of the purpose for which it was erected. Patna is a large populous trading city, and from the river makes a good appearance. There we found a number of vessels employed in its commerce, and the bazar well-stocked with merchandize, particularly abounding with coppersmiths, cooks, and confectioners. A large space was allotted to the bird sellers, who daily frequent it with a variety of birds, from the voracious hawk to the innocent dove: the most abundant were the languishing love-sick bulbuls; for so these nightingales are described in the zenanas, whither they and the doves are generally destined.

The morning we left Patna the snowy mountains were distinctly visible in the N.E. quarter. Our next landing was at Mongbeer, where we arrived on the 27th, and walked immediately to *Seeta Coond*, a celebrated hot-well at some distance from the town. It is secured by masonry, and a centinel is placed over it to prevent nuisances. The water is extremely hot, so

that I could not bear my finger in it a single moment. It smokes and bubbles violently, and is perfectly clear and tasteless. Near it is another well, called *Ram Koond*, where the water is only tepid: that in the *Seeta Coond* is of such purity, as not only to be preferred to any other by the natives, but is procured by those who can afford it, on the voyage from India to Europe, as it never putrefies, nor becomes in the least offensive. *Ram* and *Seeta* are as eminent in the Hindoo mythology as Jupiter and Juno in the Grecian.

The fortifications of Mongheer appear extensive but ruinous. The commanding officer's quarters, situated on an eminence, command a fine view over a pleasant diversified country; many parts of it are covered with a high grass, or reed, with bunches of seed-vessels on the top, so white and singular in their growth as to give the fields the appearance of feeding numerous flocks of sheep, for which I at first took them.

Violent gales and heavy rains delayed our reaching Bhaughulpore, on an anterior branch of the great river, until the 1st of October. The English chief's house is a large beautiful building on the Italian model, finely placed at the top of a lawn, sloping down to the river, planted with flowering shrubs, and near it is a paddock with elks and some curious deer. Bhaughulpore, now a flourishing place, is indebted for all its beauties and improvements to the late chief, Mr. Cleveland, whose good name stands infinitely beyond any panegyric I can bestow, being established on the most permanent basis, the universal praise of a grateful people, liberated from perpetual invaders by his exertions, and enjoying security and protection under his fostering care.

From Bhaugulpore we proceeded down the river to Colgong. We found the main river (which we re-entered), on leaving Colgong, extremely wide, but affording nothing particularly interesting, until we approached a remarkable point of land, called *Peer Payntee*, or Saint's-town, whereon was a Mahomedan dirgah, or musjid, in a good style of architecture. We soon after saw a hill with a fort, and a few houses called Taliaghurry, the residence of a rajah so entitled. We next passed Sickligulle, and soon after saw a grand cascade called Mootee-jernah, or the "*Fall of Pearls*." In the afternoon a very hard gale impeded our progress for many hours. The next day we proceeded by the branch of the river leading to Rajemahl, from whence we viewed this celebrated place. The Jumna-musjid is of great antiquity, and superior architecture; it is now a noble ruin, doubly picturesque by many large trees growing out of the dilapidated walls, and curiously mingling with the massy fragments. The lofty minars are still in good preservation. The steps in each lead to the upper gallery, from whence you enter eight rooms on either side, covered with separate domes, surrounding the magnificent cupola in the centre. The seventeen domes forming the roof are nearly perfect, and seen among the trees produce a fine effect. In front is a spacious area, with a tank, and the remains of a fountain.

The principal buildings at Rajemahl front the nullah; some appear to have been extremely grand, but now display only an extensive scene of ruins; which we left for Oudanullah, the scene of a British victory over the troops of Cossim Ally Khan. Advancing up the nullah, we viewed the bridge built over

it by that nabob ; it consists of a single arch, the masonry ornamented with small minars and domes. Two hundred yards in front of this nullah are the lines of Cossim Ally, still in good order, with a deep fosse twenty yards wide, extending from the Ganges across a swamp to the opposite hills.

On the 11th of October, taking a final leave of the main stream of the Ganges, we entered the Bhangeretty, or Cossimbazar branch. The country on the right banks appeared higher than that we had lately passed, and was consequently more dry and comfortable for the inhabitants ; yet much of this is low, and the waters had just subsided. Pelicans, cranes, and a variety of aquatic fowl, frequent the nullahs, which also abound with fish. The next day we passed Junge-pore, famous for its silk manufactory. The houses in this town and all the neighbouring villages have roofs which in shape resemble a hog's back. Much of the country, especially on the right banks, was covered with woods and forests. In the afternoon we arrived at Moorsshedabad, the Mogul capital of the province of Bengal ; where, having procured bearers, we set off in our palanquins to see a celebrated piece of water, called Mootjee-jil, or the "*Lake of Pearls*." Taking the figure of a horse-shoe, it nearly insulates a considerable space of ground, formerly a beautiful garden, adorning a large palace, now in ruins, and removing for the purpose of building an elegant house for the English resident at the durbar. The Jumma masjid and public buildings at the adjoining city of Cossimbazar resemble those in other large oriental cities. In the nabob's stable was a collection of curious small horses, several not exceeding three feet in height ; and one, a most



extraordinary dwarf, under that size, had the head, chest, and body of a full-grown horse. We also visited the Cheetah-connah, the place where the nabob's panthers and other animals for hunting are kept.

This being the Desserah, a great Hindoo festival, annually celebrated not only on shore but on the Ganges or Gunga, and all the tributary streams, which more or less partake of its sanctity, we resolved to delay our departure, and see some part of the ceremonies. At five P. M. the boats began to be in motion; they are of a singular construction, particularly those called Moor-Punkces, or peacock-boats, which are made as much as possible to resemble the peacock; others are decorated with the head and neck of a horse, and different devices: one sort in particular, which proceeds with the greatest velocity with oars, is extremely long and narrow, and on that account called a snake. In the most commodious part of these boats are laid carpets, cushions, and pillows, covered with silk, satin, or keemcombs, fringed and embroidered with gold and silver; especially those which contain the images and religious ornaments; these are placed before the apartment just mentioned, where the wealthy Hindoos are seated: while on a platform near the deities a man dances, sings, and beats time to the oars of the rowers, ornamented with bells. A number of these boats, all in swift motion, the company in their best attire, the images gaudily decked, and enwreathed with flowers, the songs and dances of the choristers, uniting with the stroke of the oars and paddles, gave a lively interest to the scene. Some of these boats are rowed by forty paddles, each with its bells. The attitudes of the dancers before the images were fre-

quently not only indelicate but disgusting. At night the illuminations commenced, but being only in the usual style, we left the festive scene ; and passing the factory at Cossimbazar (which by the artificial lights appeared to be a very extensive building) we proceeded to Burhanpore.

On the 16th we reached Plassey, which gives the title of Baron to Lord Clive, in honour of the victory he obtained on the adjoining plains, over the troops of Serajah Dowlah in 1757. We visited that memorable spot, with the hunting-seat called Plassey-house, and the immense tope, or mango grove, which will long identify the place which gave such a happy turn to the English arms and interest in India.

The surrounding country abounds with beasts of prey, and game of every description. A gentleman lately engaged on a shooting party in the wilds of Plassey, gave us an account of their success in one month, from August the 15th to September the 14th, in which space they killed one royal tiger, six wild buffaloes, one hundred and eighty-six hog-deer, twenty-five wild hogs, eleven antelopes, three foxes, thirty-five hares, one hundred and fifty brace of partridges and floricans, with quails, ducks, snipes, and smaller birds in abundance.

On the evening of the 17th we reached the confluence of the Bhaugretty and Jellinghy rivers ; the former bounding the island of Cossimbazar on the west, the latter on the east. The junction of those streams forms the Hooghly river, which we now entered. On taking leave of the Bhaugretty I must mention the *moorda* or *chuttries* placed on different parts of the bank. These are small chuprahs, or

huts, in which a Hindoo when given over by his physicians, is deposited, and left alone to expire and be carried off by the sacred flood. We fastened our boats opposite the town of Nuddeah, where the songs and dances throughout the whole night, for the festival of the Desserah, and some funeral dirges at the Hindoo cremations on another part of the bank, engaged our attention until day-break, when we dropped down to Culnah, a large village; and soon after entered a nullah, which brought us to Ballyghurra, where the waters having entirely subsided, we were gratified with a view of ploughs, harrows, and the various implements of husbandry at work on the arable plains, now ready to receive the seed.

During the last few days, sailing with a light wind has given some respite to the labours of the *dandies*, or boatmen, who pass their lives in great exertion on these rivers; in coming down the Ganges they are obliged to row, and in going up against the stream, are constantly tracking with the rope. As few conditions are without their relative comforts, so the dandies have theirs. During the evening meal and nightly halt, the toil of the day is forgotten; they generally contrive to bring their boats to some convenient station, where numerous fires blaze on the banks, a good supper is dressed, and mirth and festivity unite with the adventures of the day, to beguile the time till their meal is finished, and all lie down to repose. No fires are permitted in the budjerows; those who wish for hot meals have them dressed in separate boats.

The next morning we had a fine view of the Dutch settlement at Chinsura; and immediately after of the

French establishment at Chandernagore: they both make a very respectable appearance from the river; especially the house belonging to the French chief, at a little distance from the town. We next passed the Danish settlement of Serampore, where the Danes have long enjoyed themselves in undisturbed tranquillity, and a flourishing commerce. Four large ships were at anchor before the town, where the neatness of the houses and gardens, the goodness of the roads, and the stir of business, indicated peace and comfort.

A short distance brought us within view of the forest of masts before the magnificent buildings at Calcutta, where we landed in the evening of the 18th of October, after a voyage of much interest and variety.

## CHAPTER XVI.

The Author embarks for the Malabar Coast and England—Arrival at Goa—Residence at Goa and Panjeem—Onore taken by the English from Tippoo Sultaun—Pass the Fortress when blockaded by the Sultaun's Troops, without affording relief—Residence at Tellicherry—Cruel Fate of the English Prisoners with Tippoo Sultaun, taken at Bednore—Savage Treatment of the Officers and Privates in marching through the Country—Fate of General Mathews and two other Gentlemen taken off by Poisoned Coffee—Mechanical Tiger—Refinements in Cruelty—Rigid Discipline of Tippoo—Hyder Ally's Character superior to his Son's—Origin of Hyder—Mangulore—Splendour of the Tiger Throne—The Huma—Prayer of Tippoo—Account of Hyder's Durbar—Many Particulars of Tippoo's Character, Dress, &c.—Anecdote of a Chinese—Lulhabhy—Sail from Tellicherry—Anecdotes of Hyder Ally and Zamorine of Calicut—Chetwa—Departure for Europe—Reflections on that event, and the melancholy fate of former Shipmates—Voyage from the Malabar Coast to St. Helena—Sargasso, or Grass-sea—Flying-fish—Terrific Storm—Arrival in England.

On the eighteenth day of January 1784, I embarked with my family connexions, and several valuable friends, who had taken their passage for Europe, in the General Elliott East Indiaman; many others accompanied us on board, from whom we parted with sincere regret. We sailed immediately for the Malabar coast, where we were to complete our cargo of pepper, at Goa and Tellicherry; a fair wind carried

us clear of the harbour, and in a few hours we lost sight of all the endeared and interesting objects on Bombay.

In two days we arrived at Goa, spent a fortnight there with Mr. Crommelin, the English resident. While the ship was receiving her cargo, we made several excursions into the adjacent country; sometimes sailing up the river, we visited the desolate city of Goa, formerly described, which now presented a still more melancholy picture of wretchedness and ruin. The churches, monasteries, prisons, and inquisition, were kept in repair; but the streets in general exhibited only mouldering palaces and falling houses, depopulated and silent! The governor, Don Frederic, no longer styled *Viceroy*, but Captain General of India, was a nobleman of amiable manners, and an accomplished gentleman: he entertained us in a princely style at his palace, and formed in every respect a striking contrast to the courtiers by whom he was surrounded.

Alternate land and sea breezes wafted us pleasantly from Goa to Tellicherry.

I described Onore in the voyage to Anjengo; it was now in possession of the English, who took the fortress from the sultaun of Mysore at the commencement of the unfortunate expedition under general Mathews. Onore fort was at this time defended by Captain (now Major) Torriano, an officer in the Bombay artillery, frequently mentioned for his gallant behaviour when acting as brigade major to the British troops employed in Guzerat for the assistance of Ragonath Row. This enterprising officer ac-

quired additional honours in his defence of Onore against the force and treachery of Tippoo Sultaun, during a siege of three months, and a blockade of much longer continuance. Captain Torriano was my intimate friend, as also of several other passengers on board the General Elliot. We knew his arduous situation, we knew him resolutely determined to maintain his post until a peace, although in want of ammunition, stores, and provision for the garrison, and destitute of almost every comfort and necessary of life ; what then must have been our feelings when we were obliged to pass within view of the blockaded fortress, without affording relief to himself and his brave comrades !

We continued a fortnight at Tellicherry to complete the cargo of pepper. Our Tellicherry friends formed parties for us to Mahie, Durmapatam, and other places in its vicinity. The country is extremely pleasant for such excursions, and the weather at this season delightful. Indeed, the climate of Tellicherry is reckoned one of the finest in India ; the land winds are generally moderate, the sea breezes cool and refreshing. A constant trade during the fair season, with vessels of all descriptions from different parts of India, renders this settlement very lively ; while the number of civil servants, with the garrison officers and their families, beguile the rainy months in cheerful society and domestic enjoyments.

During our stay my friends kindly procured me every possible variety in the natural history of this part of Malabar ; among others a beautiful frog, richly shaded and spotted with blue, yellow, orange,

white, and black ; the black and white halcyon, mentioned at Fort Victoria, and some delicate specimens of the tree-frog, and flying lizard, called by naturalists *draco volans*. Most of the plants in the Tellicherry district are similar to those indigenous to Anjengo, already described. Many of the wild flowers are beautiful, none more so than the *gloriosa-superba*, which in the southern districts of Travencore is a destructive weed. The specimens brought to Tellicherry well deserved the epithet 'superba;' the elegant clusters of flowers, arrayed in brilliant flame-colour, pendent in every graceful form, from this climbing plant, running over the hedges, add an uncommon richness to the foreground of the Malabar landscape. The root of the *gloriosa* is of a poisonous nature, and being sometimes mistaken for edible roots, occasions very deleterious effects, and sometimes death.

Every rural excursion in the neighbouring country, and every social pleasure in the fortress, was tinged with gloom from reports daily reaching us of the sad fate of our unfortunate countrymen in the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun. Some gentlemen belonging to the embassy lately sent from Madras to Mangalore to settle terms of peace with that prince, as noticed in the preceding account of Onore, brought us the most dreadful intelligence of the British prisoners in Mysore. Bednore capitulated to Tippoo Sultaun the end of April 1783, on honourable terms. On an ill-founded and frivolous pretence of an infringement of the treaty, General Mathews, and a garrison of six hundred Europeans and fifteen hun-



dred sepoy, were treacherously made prisoners, treated in the most ignominious manner, and marched with savage cruelty to different fortresses in the Mysore dominions, where they were so closely confined, that during the Commissioners' journey they could neither see nor hear from any one of them. By different channels they learned too much of their unparalleled sufferings. During the march from Bednore to their allotted prisons, the officers and men were indiscriminately tied to each other with ropes, and sometimes chained together in pairs, without any distinction; the feeble with the strong, the sick with the healthy, and, not unfrequently, the living with the dead. Several instances having occurred of a lifeless corpse being dragged for miles chained to a wretched comrade, who could obtain no relief from the merciless conductor until they arrived at the nightly halting-place, when the chain was unlocked and the body removed for sepulture, a favour not always granted. In some instances the corpse was thrown out to the prowling hyenas and jackals.

From the memoranda I made on conversing with the gentlemen from Mangalore, I find two different accounts of the fate of General Mathews, and the officers above the rank of lieutenant, so treacherously surrounded at Bednore: that the field-officers, captains, and commissaries of the army were all put to death, there remained no doubt. The manner in which the tyrant's orders were executed is not so clearly ascertained. By some it was asserted that General Mathews, another field-officer, and Mr. Charles Stewart, the head commissary, and formerly a resident

at Onore, were summoned to Tippoo's durbar, and received with respectful politeness, which he well knew how to assume. After being seated on the carpet they were each presented with a cup of poisoned coffee; it was offered first to the general, as of the highest rank: guessing its cruel purport, he hesitated to take it. Mr. Stewart, better acquainted with the sultaun's character, advised him to acquiesce, otherwise insult would be added to cruelty, and taking the cup intended for himself, drank it off, and was in a few minutes either carried out in the struggles of death, or expired at the tyrant's feet. His example was then followed by his fellows in misfortune, which speedily terminated their misery!

There seems some improbability in this story; not that any deed of death was too cruel for Tippoo's character, but I believe it is not very common for the sentence to be executed in the presence of an oriental sovereign. That such instances have occurred, the Persian annals, and those of the house of Timur, sufficiently testify; and Tippoo's favourite mechanical tiger affords great reason to suppose he would have enjoyed the direful spectacle. Nothing more strongly marks his savage propensity than this toy; for it was no more. Although the registers of cruelty, exceeding even Tippoo's refinement, furnish instances of death by similar mechanism, where the devoted wretch met his fate in the embrace of a lovely female; where the automaton, smiling at his terror, plunged a dagger in his heart. The plaything of the Mysore tyrant, equally evincing his diabolical disposition, had at least a more innocent tendency. The mechanical tiger was

found in a room of the sultaun's palace at Seringapatam, appropriated for the reception of musical instruments, and hence called the ragmehal. It was sent among the presents to his Britannic Majesty, and thus described :

“ This piece of mechanism represents a royal tiger in the act of devouring a *prostrate European*. There are some barrels, in imitation of an organ, within the body of the tiger, and a row of keys of natural notes. The sounds produced by the organ are intended to resemble the cries of a person in distress, intermixed with the roar of a tiger. The machinery is so contrived, that while the organ is playing, the hand of the European is often lifted up, to express his helpless and deplorable condition. The whole of this design was executed by order of Tippoo Sultaun, who frequently amused himself with a sight of this emblematical triumph of the *Khoodadaud* (or God-given) sircar over the English.”

A human being, who could pass his hours of relaxation and amusement in this savage manner, may be easily supposed to have enjoyed the death of an European who unhappily fell into his power, whether effected by poison, sword, or bow-string.

The gentlemen arrived from Mangalore also communicated an additional instance of the tyrant's rigid and cruel discipline during the siege of that fortress. The sultaun, on being informed that the killedar who commanded it when taken by the English, had since treated them with kindness, determined to sacrifice him : for which purpose, ordering his regular troops from the trenches, and assembling them with the rest

of his army, on a hill within view of the Mangalore ramparts, he rode before the lines, surrounded by his guard of silver lances, and all the state insignia. A gallows having been previously erected, the order of death was issued, and the killedar conducted to the spot. While standing under the gibbet with a halter round his neck, Mahomed Ally, an officer of high rank, and a great favourite of the late nabob, Hyder Ally, came forward, and in the most earnest manner supplicated for a pardon, which being indignantly refused, Mahomed Ally ordered his brigade to follow him in an imprudent attempt to prevent the execution. They were soon overpowered, and a dreadful example immediately followed, in the presence of the two generals. The officers and colour-bearers were blown from the guns ; the noses and ears of the sepoy were cut off ; and Mahomed Ally, after beholding the execution of his friend, was ordered into confinement, and cut off on the road by a private order from the sultaun. Thus perished two of the best and bravest officers in his service. Their only crime consisted in having shown too much humanity to the English during the siege of Mangalore : who, from the ramparts, were witnesses of this melancholy spectacle.

The other account of the fate of the British officers captured at Bednore, was, that all above the rank of lieutenant were put to death ; by what means was not particularly stated, excepting in the case of General Mathews, who being closely confined, and suspecting he was to be taken off by poison, refused for many days to taste the food prepared by his keeper, being kept alive by the compassion of a servant, who shared

his small allowance with the general. This was contrived at by the officer placed over him, until he was himself threatened with death if his prisoner any longer survived. This being communicated to the general, he ate the poisoned food, which in a few hours terminated his sufferings. The other officers belonging to the Bombay establishment were supposed to have shared the fate of their commander about the same time. A few subalterns, in hopes of better treatment, passed themselves off for officers of higher rank, from a mistaken idea of deference to situation among the Asiatics; this deception cost them their lives, as they would otherwise have been sent with the subaltern officers to their respective settlements, at the conclusion of the peace.

In comparing the characters of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun, the former has greatly the advantage, especially considering his neglected education. Tippoo, born a prince, was educated as heir to a throne, which the Mysore usurper vainly imagined was fixed on a solid foundation; a musnud surrounded by tributary kings and conquered provinces, constantly accumulating. Like other short-sighted mortals, he little imagined the commencement and termination of his dynasty would be comprized within half a century. *Sic transit gloria mundi!* For the despotic sovereignty of this empire, Tippoo was trained by his ambitious father. Hyder could neither read nor write; not that he was of that low origin frequently mentioned: on the contrary, his ancestors first brought into notice, went to India from Arabia, about the middle of the seventeenth century; some fix the period A. D. 1660,

when he was appointed mullah, or priest, at the musjeed of Viziapore. Hyder must have been born about the year 1718, as it is said in the manuscript found at Nellore, that his father Futtu Naik, who commanded a considerable body of horse and foot in the service of Abdul Russul Khan, nabob of Sirpy, fell in battle in 1728, when Hyder, Futtu Naik's youngest son, was ten years of age. An elder brother and an uncle of Hyder having engaged themselves in the service of the rajah of Mysore, Hyder accompanied them in all their military operations; thus engaging, from a child, in active scenes, his education was neglected; and, whether from thoughtlessness on one side, or idleness on the other, Hyder Naik, as he was then called, was not taught either to read or write, nor did he afterwards ever acquire any literary knowledge.

When thirty years of age, Hyder, as a soldier of fortune, at the head of fifty matchlock peons, and five horses, offered his services to Nunderauz, commander in chief and duan to the rajah of Mysore: here properly commenced his military career. In less than three years he increased his troop to one hundred horse, and five hundred sepoys, whom he armed with European firelocks, and attached two field-pieces to his own little corps.

Another account, taken like the above, chiefly from Mahomedan historians, says that in the year of the Hejira 1140, A.D. 1727, Futtu Naik, the father of Hyder Ally, with a corps of a thousand men, entered into the service of the rajah of Seringapatam; or more properly Srirungaputton: so called from the temple of Sriunga, dedicated to the beautiful Hindoo deity Sri, the goddess of fecundity, similar to the Ceres of

Greece. This city was then the capital of a powerful kingdom, governed by a Hindoo rajah; who, on the death of Futtu Naik, gave his son Hyder the command of his own corps: where under the patronage of Nunderauz he made a rapid progress in the path of ambition and glory. It is not my intention to follow him in this career: "exaltation," say the oriental historians, "was inscribed on his forehead." By a chain of good fortune, assisted by singular talents, he at length filled the situations of his friend and patron Nunderauz, as duan (or vizier), and commander in chief of the army. Not content with those high dignities, he aspired to the throne, usurped the sovereignty, and imprisoned the rajah and his family in a hill-fort call Mudgery, situated on a strong rock, sixteen coss from Bangalore: this was in the year 1762. From that period he took the title of nawaub, or nabob, Hyder Ally Chan Bahauder; and pursuing his conquests in many of the surrounding countries, he added Bedoare and its valuable territory, the Soondah country near Goa, and other considerable districts to the Mysore empire.

Establishing himself at Seringapatam, Hyder made that city the metropolis of his dominions; he enlarged and strengthened the fortifications, erected a new palace and other public buildings, and increased its population by every means in his power; still keeping up the garrisons at Bednore, Bangalore, and the different strongholds in his extensive empire. Mangulore was his principal sea-port; Onore and some smaller towns near it hardly meriting that appellation; although Onore, especially as connected with Mirzee and Barcelore, has been always a place

of considerable trade. This caused Tippoo's indignation at the English taking and defending Mangulore and Onore so bravely against his army, and counter-acting his wily manœuvres. Hyder had always a great predilection for Mangulore: here he built all his large ships, with timber brought down from the Ghaut forests in the rainy season, by means of two rivers, which uniting near Mangulore, flow into the salt lake generally called Mangulore river. This settlement would be of much greater value were it not for the accumulation of sand during the south-west monsoon, forming a bar which renders the passage dangerous. Among other valuable articles of commerce, a great quantity of rice is annually exported from Mangulore.

Mangulore was the great deposit for marine stores of every description for the use of the sultann's navy; Seringapatam contained the grand military arsenal, where they cast cannon, and fabricated all kinds of arms, in the oriental and European fashion. Most of the cannon cast during the reign of Tippoo, were ornamented with the representation of a tiger devouring an European; emblematical of his tyrannical and revengeful disposition. It is remarked by an intelligent writer, that "Tippoo's thoughts were constantly bent on war and military preparations; he having been frequently heard to say, that in this world he would rather live two days like a tiger, than two hundred years like a sheep. He adopted as the emblem of his state, and as a species of armorial bearing, the figure of the royal tiger, whose head and stripes constituted the chief ornaments of his throne, and of almost every article which belonged to him. This



throne was of considerable beauty and magnificence. The support was a wooden tiger as large as life, covered with gold, in the attitude of standing. His head and fore legs appeared in front and under the throne, which was placed across his back. It was composed of an octagonal frame, eight feet by five, surrounded by a low railing, on which were ten small tiger heads made of gold, beautifully inlaid with precious stones. The ascent to the throne was by small silver steps on each side. From the centre of the back part, opposite the large tiger's head, arose a gilded iron pillar, seven feet high, surmounted by a canopy, superbly decorated with a fringe of pearls. The whole was made of wood, covered with a thin sheet of the purest gold, richly illuminated with tiger stripes and Arabic verses. The huma was placed at the top of the canopy, and fluttered over the sultaun's head. This bird, the most beautiful and magnificent ornament of the throne, was sent by the Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors. It was about the size and shape of a small pigeon, and intended to represent the fabulous bird of antiquity, well known to all Persian scholars; a bird peculiar to the east, supposed to fly constantly in the air, and never to touch the ground. It is looked upon as a bird of happy omen, and that every head it overshades will in time wear a crown. The tail of the huma on Tippoo's throne, and its wings, were in the attitude of fluttering. It was formed of gold, entirely covered with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds.

“Tippoo Sultaun seems to have adopted Ally as the guardian genius, or tutelary saint, of his dominions, as the peculiar object of his veneration, and as

an example to imitate. His selection of the tiger as an emblem, appears to have been intended in honour of Ally; for the natives of Hindostan make no distinction between a lion and a tiger. *Hyder*, which also signifies a lion, but interpreted by the natives of Hindostan, tiger, is another title of Ally; it was likewise the name of Tippoo Sultaun's father. The name of *Hyder*, thus distinguished by the triple circumstance of its being the title of Ally, the name of Tippoo Sultaun's assumed emblem, and the name of his father, the founder of his dominion, was introduced by him on every occasion: and either the word at length, or its initial letter, was stamped upon every article belonging to him."

I have read many letters from *Hyder* and Tippoo on various subjects, and on a former occasion introduced one from *Hyder* to Colonel Wood, strongly characteristic of his determined and warlike disposition. Very much in the same spirit, is a prayer prefixed to a foolish superstitious dream, thus entered in his diary: "On the 7th day of the month *Jaufre*, of the year *Shaudaub* 1217 from the birth of *Mahomed* (answering to August 1790), when encamped at *Sulaumabad*, before the attack upon the intrenchments of *Ram Nayer*, and after evening prayers, I made invocation to the Deity, in these terms: 'Oh God! the damned infidels of the hills forbid fasting and prayer, as practised by the Mussulmans; convert them at once to the faith, so that the religion of thy prophet may acquire strength.' In the course of the night, and towards the morning, I had a dream," &c.—This dream is not worth relating, nor shall I give a translation of the cruel mandates sent to the com-

manders of his forts respecting the English prisoners in the year 1783, particularly one (as I was credibly informed) ordering Captain Mathews and Lieutenant Wheldon to be turned out in a forest, and hunted to death by dogs, trained for such a purpose. These epistles are too sanguinary for insertion: they are equally cruel, but less energetic and concise than many similar compositions; especially that from the caliph Haroun-al-Rashid, to Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, which Gibbon styles of such tremendous brevity.

“In the name of the most merciful God! Haroun-al-Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus the Roman dog:

“I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply.”

A reply, which was indeed written in characters of blood and fire, on the plains of Phrygia! Similar was the language of Hyder to his enemies; equally laconic and sanguinary his epistles to the government of Madras; followed up by his conquering cavalry, carrying death and destruction to the very gates of Fort St. George!

I will dwell no longer on these melancholy scenes. Sir James Sibbald, who resided eleven years in Hyder's dominions, and was for some time in a public character at his durbar in Seringapatam, as well as in habits of intimacy with Tippoo Suldaun, during the life of his father, has often entertained me with a description of the splendid pageantry and ostentatious ceremonies in the newly established durbar, where he carried his authority with a high hand; sometimes

profuse in his entertainments and princely in his presents, at others equally mean and sordid. These Mahomedan sovereigns seemed anxious to revive the magnificence of former times, in the palace at Seringapatam; but they had neither taste, judgment, nor wealth to follow the example of the Mogul and Patan courts in India, still less to vie with the splendour of the Abassides, or the Moorish sovereigns in Europe, the former of whom they seemed desirous to imitate; especially Tippoo, who wished to add the character of sanctity to his other princely virtues. Rising at break of day, he always employed his first hour in reading the Koran; how far its religion and morality influenced his life, is evident from these unconnected Memoirs. He then gave audience to the civil and military officers who had particular business to transact; and before breakfast visited the jamdar khana, or treasury, containing his jewels, gold and silver ornaments and utensils, curious arms, and new mechanical inventions, on which he lavished large sums; but his museums and collections are said more to have resembled the heterogeneous mixtures of Asuph-ul-Dowlah, at Lucknow, than the valuable deposits of the Mogul emperors in their days of splendour. After breakfast, arrayed in rich apparel, he gave public audience, and sometimes administered justice, reviewed the troops, hunted with the cheta, or superintended the arsenals; these and similar pursuits generally employed the succeeding hours in his capital. In camp, or severe marches, no soldier in his army could bear more fatigue: war was his delight, and every thing tending to it engaged his first consideration.

Among the chief curiosities in his treasury and

wardrobe, were the arms and war-dresses; some of the latter formed complete suits of armour, in chain-work, and other heavy encumbrances for man and horse, of more shew than use. Among the articles of a war-dress sent to the Duke of York was one of the sultaun's turbans, (perhaps more of a helmet) which had been dipped in the sacred fountain of Zum-Zum at Mecca, and on that account was supposed to be invulnerable: this was called a *tuburrook*, or holy gift. Altogether, the jewels, treasure, and valuables, which the eastern sovereigns have laid up in store, from the days of Solomon to Tippoo Sultaun, fell very short of general expectation at the capture of Seringapatam. Indeed, all Indian wealth and magnificence, since Nadir Shah's plunder of Delhi, even the brilliant humas, pearly canopy, and varied gems of the tiger throne, dwindle into comparative insignificance, when mentioned with the splendid luxury of the Arabian caliphs. The name of Haroun-al-Rashid is familiar to every reader of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments; nor are the descriptions of his palace, gardens, and pavilions, altogether fictitious. The successors of the Arabian prophet soon laid aside the patriarchal simplicity which distinguished his character. Every authentic history of Mahomed confirms the remark of Gibbon, "that his good sense despised the pomp of royalty; *the man styled the Apostle of God* submitted to the menial offices of the family; he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of a hermit, he observed, without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn

occasions he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty, but in his domestic life, many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley-bread; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two sensual enjoyments in which he chose to indulge, and his religion did not forbid; affirming that the fervour of his devotion was increased by these pleasures."

In little more than a century after the death of Mahomed, the Abassides then established at Bagdad, forgetting the origin and example of their prophet, and disdaining his abstinence and frugality, began to emulate the splendour of other oriental monarchs. The character of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultaun are, in many respects, not unlike those of Mahomed and his early successors; especially in their zeal for converts and rage for conquest. Ambition and extent of empire were the ruling passions of Hyder; to these his son was desirous of annexing the titles of apostle, priest, and prophet. He gloried in being himself a religious author, and certainly possessed a library superior to that of any modern prince in Hindostan. He was at the same time vain, ostentatious, and deficient in the noble qualities of a sovereign; his own capricious cruelties, and those sanctioned by his authority, have been mentioned. He affected a splendid pageantry, and marshalled his choicest troops before his durbar on the introduction of a new ambassador at the

Mahomedan festivals, and other public occasions ; but all his ostentatious parade was trifling, compared with the wealth and splendour of the caliphs of Bagdad, or the Moorish kings in Spain, of which Abulfeda has given so many remarkable instances.

Dr. Buchanan, speaking of the inner apartments of Tippoo's palace, says, "From the principal front of the sultaun's palace at Seringapatam, which served as a revenue office, and as a place from whence he occasionally shewed himself to the populace, the chief entry into the private square was through a strong narrow passage, wherein were chained four tigers ; which, although somewhat tame, would, in case of any disturbance, become unruly. Within these was the hall in which Tippoo wrote, and into which very few persons were ever admitted. Immediately behind this was the bedchamber, which communicated with the hall by a door and two windows, and was shut up on every other side. This door was strongly secured on the inside, and a close iron grating defended the windows. The sultaun, lest any person should fire upon him while in bed, slept in a hammock, which was suspended from the roof by chains, in such a situation as to be invisible through the windows. In the hammock were found a sword and a pair of pistols."

That this suspicion and anxious dread pervades the whole despotic system, from the imperial musnud to the durbar of every inferior oppressor, is evident from the general construction of the great houses in Hindostan, which are full of dark passages, close narrow stairs, and short turnings, from whence the

dagger of the assassin may best execute the meditated blow.

This distrust and suspicion in some measure accounts for the custom in India, especially among the Mahomedans, that in default of children, and sometimes where there are lineal descendants, the master of a family adopts a slave, frequently a Haffshee, Abyssinian, of the darkest hue, for his heir: he educates him agreeably to his wishes, and marries him to one of his daughters. As the reward of superior merit, or to suit the caprice of an arbitrary despot, this honour is also conferred on a slave recently purchased, or already grown up in the family; and to him he bequeaths his wealth, in preference to his nephews, or any collateral branches. This is a custom of great antiquity in the east, and prevalent among the most refined and civilized nations. In the earliest periods of the patriarchal history, we find Abraham complaining for want of children, and declaring that either Eliezer of Damascus, or probably one born from him in his house, was his heir; to the exclusion of Lot, his favourite nephew, (for whom he had just fought with the king of Elam and his confederates) and all the other collateral branches of his family.

The arrival of our ill-fated countrymen from Mangalore, during our stay at Tellicherry, replete with anecdotes of Tippoo's cruelty, and the distresses they had sustained in that fortress, aggravated by what they heard of the dreadful sufferings of the officers and privates marched through the Mysore dominions, so engrossed conversation, that little attention could be given to any other subject. The failure of British



policy and intrepidity in the late unfortunate expedition to Bednore, and the loss of the flower of the Bombay army, were universally deplored. This, added to the sacrifice of all our northern possessions, to obtain an ignominious peace with the Mahrattas, threw a gloom over the oriental hemisphere on our departure from India. Important and advantageous have been the succeeding events in that quarter of the globe, where those fatal catastrophes are now so happily reversed. Tippoo destroyed, Mysore restored to the descendant of its ancient rajahs, many of the Guzerat purgunnas once more in possession of the Company, the Mahratta power completely annihilated, and British protection extended over all the rich and populous regions of India, in a retrospective view leave the mind absorbed in wonder, looking forward in incalculable conjecture.

The General Elliott was to receive her final dispatches for Europe from the Governor and Council at Bombay, by a cutter to be sent after us to Tellicherry. This vessel arrived on the 17th of February, with the packets for the Court of Directors, and orders for our immediate departure to St. Helena and Europe, without touching at the Cape of Good Hope. Among them I received a letter from a friend at Bombay, which I cannot help inserting as containing an anecdote which does honour to human nature in any country.

“I think it very probable you may meet our friend C—— at Tellicherry or Cochin, in one of the Portuguese ships from Macao, which generally arrive about this time. You have heard of his late misfortunes, but it is probable you may not know by what

means his affairs are likely to be retrieved, and, therefore, it is with exquisite delight I relate an anecdote which does honour to human nature. The story is true, and, in my opinion, equals anything of the kind upon record. You, who were formerly so well acquainted with this worthy man in India, know that he afterwards resided many years highly respected at Canton and Macao, where a sudden reverse of fortune reduced him from a state of affluence to the greatest necessity. A Chinese merchant to whom he had formerly rendered service, gratefully offered him an immediate loan of ten thousand dollars, which the gentleman accepted, and gave his bond for the amount; this the Chinese immediately threw into the fire, saying, ‘When you, my friend, first came to China, I was a poor man, you took me by the hand, and assisting my honest endeavours, made me rich. Our destiny is now reversed, I see you poor while I am blessed with affluence.’ The by-standers had snatched the bond from the flames; the gentleman sensibly affected by such generosity, pressed his Chinese friend to take the security, which he did, and then effectually destroyed it. The disciple of Confucius beholding the increased distress it occasioned, said he would accept of his watch, or any little valuable, as a memorial of their friendship. The gentleman immediately presented his watch, and the Chinese in return gave him an old iron seal, saying, ‘Take this seal, it is one I have long used, and possesses no intrinsic value, but as you are going to India to look after your outstanding concerns, should fortune further persecute you, draw upon me for any further sum of money you may stand in need of, sign it with your own hand, seal it with this signet, and I will pay the money.’

“ The Macao ships did not arrive during our stay at Tellicherry, consequently we had not the pleasure of meeting Mr. C—— whose commercial concerns turning out advantageously, he returned to Europe with an independent fortune. On enquiring the name of the generous Chinese, I was informed it was *Chingua*. It is a name which deserves to be recorded on a rock of adamant, and an action which ought to ennoble him for ever.”

With this triumph of virtue it may be equally proper to mention also the downfall of a once prosperous despot. Lullabhy, the opulent banian of Baroche, so often mentioned in these Memoirs, and lately introduced as an oppressive zemindar, when he had nearly reached the pinnacle of his ambition and accumulated wealth sufficient even to gratify a rapacious Mahratta chief, was seized on one of those ready pretences in an oriental durbar, his immense property was confiscated, and himself banished to a distant fortress, not celebrated for the goodness of its water. There, either by the change of beverage, or some speedier method, he fell a sacrifice to his crimes.

On the 19th of February we sailed for Chetwa, a Dutch settlement on the Malabar coast, a little to the southward of Calicut, and fifteen leagues north of Cochin. We neither landed at Chetwa nor Calicut; the latter was in the possession of Tippoo Sultaun, and the English factory withdrawn. The external appearance of Calicut remained much the same as when formerly described. The Mahomedan colours usurped the place of the zamorine's standard, in this once celebrated emporium, which was completely conquered by the sultaun of Mysore, now become one of the first potentates in India; while the zamorine of

Calicut, so great and powerful a sovereign when De Gama arrived here, was annihilated—or, like the queens of Attinga, and other Malabar princes, enjoyed only the name and shadow of royalty. The zamorines, or kings of Calicut, according to the Nellore manuscript, were ascertained to have maintained twelve hundred Brahmins in their household; and until they had been first served with victuals, the zamorine never tasted any himself. It was an etiquette also, that he never spoke to, nor suffered a Mahomedan to come into his presence. Hyder Ally, after taking Calicut, sent a complimentary message, and desired to see the zamorine, but was refused: he, however, admitted Hyder's head Brahmin to speak to him, and carry his answer back to his master, then waiting at some distance from them. After this interview, Hyder, instead of sending rice sufficient for the daily food of twelve hundred Brahmins, ordered only enough for five hundred; this they dispensed with. The second day he diminished the allowance to a sufficiency for three hundred; and on the third they received only enough for one hundred. All further supplies were afterwards refused; nor did the conqueror take any notice of the zamorine's complaints and applications. The unfortunate prince, after fasting three days, and finding all remonstrances vain, set fire to his palace, and was burned, with some of his women, and three Brahmins, the rest having left him on this sad reverse of fortune.

On the zamorine's death, Hyder Ally garrisoned Calicut with two thousand foot and five hundred horse, and marched with the remainder of his army

to Coimbatore, forty coss on his route to his own country. About two months after the nabob's departure, the late zamorine's brother appeared before Calicut with twenty thousand men, and having got possession of it, he put every man of Hyder's army to death, except about three hundred, who fled to a temple for safety. As soon as this news reached Hyder, he detached Assut Khan, with five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to retake Calicut ; who, after two engagements, forced the Hindoos to abandon the country, and kept the town for Hyder. Within three months they returned with greater force, retook the place, cut off Assut Khan's head, and killed a number of his people. This was after my visit to Calicut in 1772, and previous to the year 1776. Before the expiration of many months, Hyder Ally himself marched for Calicut with two thousand horse and six thousand foot ; but when he had proceeded two days towards it, he gave the command of that force to Sevajee Row, a Mahratta general in his service. The zamorine's brother again tried his fortune in the field, and was again defeated. He then left the country, the inhabitants of Calicut evacuated the place, and Sevajee immediately took possession.

These extraordinary events may be said to complete the oriental history of the Malabar coast ; for Calicut, with all the extensive districts included under the appellation of the Malabar province, are now subject either to the power or influence of the East India Company, under whose settled government and mild administration, the natives must be happy. Nor can I quit this interesting spot without contrasting the cruel beha-

viour of Hyder Ally, in withholding food from a conquered sovereign, the last of a noble dynasty, who had never offended him, with the generous conduct of the British government to the descendants of the Mysore usurper, who are allowed everything becoming their royal descent, except the liberty of treading in the bloody footsteps of their ancestors, and fomenting wars and rebellions in their native country.

The particular assignments to the family and descendants of the late Tippoo Suldaun, and the sums appropriated to the zenana, the legitimate and illegitimate children, and dependants of every description on the Mahomedan sovereigns of Mysore, were literal and prevalent.

We sailed from Chetwa for Europe, soon after midnight on the 22d of February, and at sun-rise the next morning I beheld, for the last time, the coast of India, exactly eighteen years from my first arrival at Bombay. This diversified and interesting period of life I recollect with heartfelt delight; nor did I take a final view of the cloud-capt mountains of Malabar without strong and mingled sensations. Nineteen passengers had embarked from England in the same ship with myself, full of youthful ardour, and eager to obtain their respective situations in the civil, military, and marine departments of the Company's service. I never read Camoen's *Lusiad* without a peculiar interest in that pathetic description of the Lusitanian youth embarking with De Gama in his first voyage to India.

Of the nineteen youths with whom I thus commenced my juvenile career, seventeen died in India

many years before my departure ; one only besides myself then survived ; with whom I formed an early friendship, which continued without interruption to his death, for he also has since fallen a sacrifice to the climate, and I have been for nearly ten years the only survivor ! One great alloy to a residence in that distant country, is the separation of families where parents are obliged to part with the sweetest pledges of connubial love ; or a fond mother is compelled, as it were, to divide herself in the performance of her tenderest duties.

I greatly admire a passage in Pliny's letters on the subject of human mortality. The sentiments of that amiable and virtuous heathen are as exalted and noble as can be conceived in a mind unassisted by divine revelation. Happily, a Christian's view of immortality is of a more sublime and durable nature, extending beyond the bounds of time to a scene of endless duration.

“ Within what narrow limits are the lives of so great a multitude confined ! To me therefore, the royal tears shed upon a reflection of this kind, seem not only pardonable, but worthy of praise ; for they say, that Xerxes, upon a review of his immense army, wept to consider, that of such a number of men, in a very little time, not one would be living. But this ought to incite us to employ our time, fleeting and transitory as it is, if not in great actions, yet certainly in study : and as it may not be permitted us to live long, let us leave something behind to shew that we have lived. Noble is the contention, when friends, by mutual exhortations, spirit up each other to the love of immortality ! ”

Among the Company's servants, civil and military, were many noble characters, eminently virtuous and praiseworthy in all respects. But what in my opinion produced so material a difference in the character and career of the youth sent to India, was the employment of time, especially in a morning. The writers at the period of my arrival at Bombay, and during the whole time of my officiating in that capacity, were fully engaged from nine o'clock to twelve, when they retired from their respective offices to dinner, which was then at one o'clock in every class of English society. At two the writers returned to their employment until five; when, after a dish of tea, a social walk on a fine sandy beach, open to the salubrious western breeze, gave us a keener appetite for supper than our scanty pittance of thirty rupees per month could furnish. Such was our constant practice six days in the week. The cadets, on the contrary, who were then soon promoted, and whether stationed at the presidency or the subordinate settlements, perhaps mounted guard once or twice a week, and did no other duty, had abundance of leisure time. On those idle days, the morning was generally occupied in calling upon each other at their different quarters, and at each visit taking a draught of punch, or arrack and water; which, however cool and pleasant at the moment, was succeeded by the most deleterious effects; indeed, from its fatal consequences it might be called a slow poison; and from this cause alone, it may be confidently asserted, that a number proportionate to the Berhampore estimate, were annually committed to an untimely grave.

There were many amiable exceptions of youth in the military department, who devoted their morning



hours to professional studies, music, drawing, literary improvement, and other rational pursuits, who became eminent in their profession, and are now enjoying the fruit of their wise conduct, independent and happy in their native country. I do not mean to infer that physical causes have no effect upon the European constitution in India ; I know from long experience they are often very powerful ; and it must be admitted, that, notwithstanding the utmost care and circumspection, they frequently produce a gradual and melancholy effect, especially on delicate females, who uniformly lead a life of temperance, tranquillity, and virtue. But in that class of Asiatic society which I allude to, I am persuaded that moral evil produces far more fatal consequences than any physical cause whatsoever.

I can illustrate my position by an anecdote, trifling perhaps in itself, but not totally irrelevant to the purpose. The introduction of such circumstances sometimes throws more light upon a subject than learned and laborious discussion.

I was one day in company at Bombay, with twelve other gentlemen, in the civil service, most of them considerably under thirty years of age, when the conversation turning upon the mortality of Europeans in India, one of the company made use of the old remark, that there was something ominous in the number thirteen at a convivial meeting, and that certainly one of us would die before the anniversary of that day in the following year ; the probability of which was certainly much in his favour, in a climate deemed so inimical to European constitutions. I was, at the moment, cutting open the leaves of a book with an

ivory paper-cutter; and merely to keep in mind the predicted death of one of the company within twelve months from the assertion, I wrote down on the ivory the name of each individual comprised in the fatal number: this was in the year 1770. The ensuing year passed over without the completion of the prophesy; not one of the company died. In 1780, ten years after I made my nomenclature, the whole thirteen were in perfect health. The party consisted of the secretary, deputy secretary, and eleven assistants in their office, writers in the Company's service; several of them are now filling useful and honourable situations in the three different divisions of the United Kingdom, wherein they were born.

This fact evinces the advantages of moderation, employment, and diligence.

After leaving the Malabar coast we had a continuance of fair winds and pleasant weather, until we passed the line; where, instead of the calms so often experienced, a strong western gale carried us across the equator, on the third of March, with a hundred and ten miles on the board. These are delightful circumstances in a monotonous India voyage, both to sailors and passengers, but afford no topic for the descriptive pen.

*"La mer n'est plus qu'un cercle aux yeux des matelots,  
Ou le ciel form un dôme appuyé sur les flots."*

From this period light winds and calms prevailed alternately for near a fortnight; until, in the latitude of 13° south, we met the south-east trade wind, which wafted us on our course at the rate of seven miles an hour; so that we had generally from two hundred and sixty to a hundred miles in our day's reckoning. This

in the twenty-eighth degree of southern latitude, increased to a severe gale, which blew with unrelenting fury four days ; then gradually subsiding, it left us with fair winds and fine weather. These favourable gales continued until the 12th of April, when they entirely forsook us, and, instead of the easterly winds common at that season, we encountered strong wintry blasts from the north-west, which drove us to the latitude of 38 degrees south ; where during eight days we experienced three dreadful storms. One of them was a scene of horror and very great danger.

These hurricanes were succeeded by a faint lull, a short deceitful change, which carried us into soundings on the great southern bank of Africa ; but the captain having positive orders not to stop at the Cape, we began to anticipate the more circumscribed pleasures at St. Helena, after our late anxiety ; when, for twenty-six days together, the dead-lights were shut in, and very often no victuals could be dressed. The situation of the ladies and children was then truly lamentable, and the whole scene distressing.

We now thought our trials over, but a storm more tremendous than any I had ever witnessed, suddenly broke upon us from the north-west, and continued with unabated fury for several days. In former voyages I had never beheld any thing so dreadful : the raging billows seemed more like moving mountains of a black metallic substance, than an undulating fluid ; while the sky, hard, dark, and dismal, was without a cloud. Language is too faint to describe this awful scene on the grandest theatre of nature.

After experiencing the continuance of this storm during several weeks, in doubling the southern pro-

montory, we at length enjoyed a favourable gale; which settling in the regular south-east trade wind, soon wafted us to St. Helena, where we passed near three weeks in all the pleasure and variety which this small but cheerful island amply affords. Having fully described it in a former voyage, I have now little to add: eight years had elapsed since my first visit, during which the cultivation of the island was considerably improved, especially in the growth of potatoes. This valuable root now supersedes the yam in the estimation of the islanders, and the numerous vessels that stop there for provisions. Many farmers raise two crops a year, from four to five hundred bushels each; the medium price was now six shillings per bushel. The surface of the island contains about thirty thousand acres; six thousand were then said to be under cultivation. When Lord Valentia visited it twenty years afterwards, the cultivation was increased to between seven and eight thousand acres.

During the period of an Indiaman's detention, the novelty and rural scenery of St. Helena amuse the passengers; and the supply of fresh meat, fruit, and vegetables, which are sent off every morning to the vessels, refresh the sailors. More cattle and poultry might certainly be reared, and more fruits and vegetables produced, by attention and encouragement; the great increase of ships resorting to this small spot has enhanced the price of every thing, and the scarcity is sensibly felt by vessels that have not previously touched at the Cape. The value of St. Helena to the East India Company, especially during a war with Holland, was inestimable; yet it is maintained at a moderate expense, the annual charge of the civil and military

establishments and contingencies never exceeding forty thousand pounds. Properly to estimate the importance of St. Helena, it must be considered as rising in the midst of the ocean, far from all other shores, in the immediate track of the homeward-bound Indiamen, as a fair wind for those ships blows constantly throughout the year.

I spent several days in different parts of the interior of the island, and found a spot particularly favourable to mental contemplation, anticipating the delights of love and friendship, in a reunion with those from whom we had been so long separated. When all the plantation slaves had retired to rest, and a sweet tranquillity reigned throughout the romantic scenery, when

“ The glowing orb beneath the western main,  
Descending, calls to rest the weary swain :  
Mild Cynthia rising from Endymion's arms,  
With azure mantle veils her blushing charms ;  
Come, Contemplation, on thy pensive wing,  
And with thee dreams of love, of rapture bring :  
Bid sacred Friendship close the smiling train,  
While Truth respondent swells the melting strain :  
So shall my soul from every passion free,  
Save Love and Friendship, fondly turn to thee :  
With thee retrace each happy scene long flown,  
And chide the hours that part me from my own ! ”

We left St. Helena without regret, and sailed for England on the 23d of May. When I last embarked for India, and had formed some judgment of my future prospects in that part of the world, I promised my parents, that, should it please the Almighty to bless me with a moderate competency, no flattering situa-

tion of wealth or power should induce me to remain there after I had attained my thirty-fifth year : as a sound constitution, an independent fortune, and the happiness of their society, were to me of far greater value than all the wealth of India, united to the consequences of a longer residence in the torrid zone. I kept my promise, and spent that anniversary of my birth in the wilds of St. Helena.

A fair wind wafted us in seven days from St. Helena to Ascension, another island, which has likewise been produced by volcanic fire. Ascension is about half the size of St. Helena ; entirely uninhabited, except by sea-fowl and turtle.

“ No human footstep marks the trackless sand.”

Diospedea, procellaria, equinoctialis, and various birds of the ocean, build in the volcanic cliffs of Ascension ; while what epicures deem the best-kind of turtle nightly frequent the beach, and afford the ships that touch there a large supply of this nutritious food ; but the Company's orders being positive against such an indulgence, to prevent a contraband trade between their homeward-bound shipping and the Americans, we were reluctantly obliged to leave this delicacy to vessels not under such a restriction.

The trade-wind continued until we crossed the equinoctial line on the third of June, which we lost shortly afterwards in the latitude of 5° north, when for a few days light airs and calms retarded our progress until we met the north-east trade ; which blew fresh through the tropic of Cancer, to the 28th degree of north latitude and 43d of west longitude, when it finally left us

in what is called the *Sargasso*, or Grass-sea ; so named from the prodigious number of fuci and other marine plants which almost cover the ocean, from the 18th or 20th degree of north latitude, to 30 and 32, and extend for fifteen degrees of west longitude from 25 to 40°. It is generally supposed these marine plants are carried by the winds and currents from the Gulf of Mexico. This is disputed by philosophers ; and in one of Barrow's voyages he rationally observes, that the plant has neither roots nor fibrils of any kind to indicate that it ever was attached to rocks or shores ; but its central stem, buried in the midst of its leafy branches, makes it sufficiently evident that it vegetates while floating on the surface of the fathomless deep ; some of these plants are many feet in diameter, others only a few inches ; all appear in a growing state, covered with fish, worms, insects, and testaceous animals of various descriptions.

A track so much frequented affords very little for a modern voyager to describe. Dolphins, albacores, and bonettas, the coryphæna or dorado, scomber thynnus, and scomber pelamis, are now as well known as the ichthyology of Europe. We had one opportunity of seeing an amazing sword-fish, (*xiphias gladius*) which often does dreadful damage to the hull of a ship, by darting in the sword or horn, from whence it derives its name ; this being frequently broken off, and torn from the head by the violence of the shock, the sea becomes stained with blood, without any apparent cause ; until when docked, at the conclusion of the voyage, several instances have occurred of the weapon being found transfixing through the strongest planks of oak, which had the enraged animal been able to withdraw, the

ship must inevitably have foundered ; such may possibly have been the fate of the *Aurora* frigate, and other vessels, whose loss has never been ascertained. The saw-fish, (*squalus pristis*) is more common, but we met with none very large, though sometimes I believe it equals the sword-fish in size ; and they are not unfrequently from fifteen to twenty feet long.

The most interesting scene of animated nature on the ocean, is the shoals of flying-fish (*exocætus evolans*) abounding in particular latitudes, and flying in every direction to escape from a watery foe, thus becoming an easy prey to an aerial enemy. In the Hindoo metempsychosis, where the bodies of the dove, the bee, the ant, and other favourite animals, are assigned as the temporary abode of tender, affectionate, and tranquil spirits, and lions, tigers, and hyenas, for those of ferocious dispositions, the body of the flying-fish would be a fit receptacle for those malicious envious souls, who, like the arch-fiend they imitate, are continually going about seeking whom they may devour. The flying-fish are very beautiful, in form and colour not unlike the grey mullet, (*mugil cephalus*) but of a silvery hue, and more brilliant colours, varying from grey to blue and purple. They are sometimes from twelve to eighteen inches long, and even larger ; but generally eight or nine. In some the long pectoral fins are beautifully spotted ; by means of these wings, occasionally dipped in the sea, they continue their flight, mostly in a horizontal direction, a few yards above the surface, for a considerable distance ; but cannot fly more than a hundred yards at a time without wetting their fins. I have sometime seen them fall upon the deck, and dressed for table ; they seemed more delicate in fla-



vous than the other ocean fish. In Dr. Shaw's *Systematic Natural History*, one of the most scientific and entertaining zoological works in Europe, he quotes an observation by Captain Tobin, respecting the habits of the *exocoetus evolans*, which appears very curious. "The lower half of the tail in the flying-fish is full twice the length of the upper; the use of it has always appeared evident to me. I have by the hour watched the dolphins and bonettas in pursuit of them; when, without wholly immersing themselves, which would have proved fatal to them, they have disposed in their progressive motion the lower part of the tail in such a manner as to supply their wings with moisture, so as to support them above the surface.

I should have had no occurrence to mention during this voyage, had it not been for another tremendous storm, which came upon us after losing the north-east trade wind: it was not of long continuance, but dreadfully terrific, and we had every reason to suppose the ship must inevitably perish. The prognostics were singular, and the alarming aspect gave some little time for preparation, which was not the case on a similar occasion mentioned in a former voyage to England, near the Azores.

Mr. Clarke, in a note to his beautiful edition of *Falconer's Shipwreck*, exactly describes our awful situation. "The sun had just given its parting rays, and the last shades of day lingered on the distant waves, when a sky most sublime and threatening, attracted all our attention, and was immediately provided against by the vigilant officers of the watch. To the verge of the horizon, except where the sun had left some portion of its departing rays, a hard, lowering,

blue firmament presented itself ; on this floated light yellow clouds, tinged with various hues of crimson, the never-failing harbingers of a gale. A strong vivid tint was reflected from them on the sails and rigging of the ship, which rendered the scene more dreadful. The very calm that prevailed was portentous—the sea-bird shrieked as it passed ! As the tempest gradually approached, and the wind issued from the treasuries of God, the thick darkness of an autumnal night closed the whole in horrid uncertainty.”

“ It was a dismal and a fearful night ;  
And on my soul hung the dull weight  
Of some intolerable fate ! ”      COWLEY.

This concluded our adventures on the voyage from India to Europe ; for after encountering the last storm, and getting clear of the sargasso, we were favoured by strong westerly gales, which conveyed us seven or eight miles an hour without intermission, until the 13th of July ; when perceiving the water to be discoloured, we sounded, and had ground at eighty fathoms. On the 15th we saw the verdant hills on the coast of Devonshire, and I once more experienced those emotions of pain and pleasure which sicken the heart : they are only to be felt on such occasions, nor can language describe them. When I considered the age of my venerable parents, the uncertainty of their being yet alive, and the variety of circumstances which awaited me at this important era, I found every nerve of sensibility awakened. On landing at Portsmouth, on the 17th, I met a friend, who informed me that parents, relations, friends, all were well, and with fond impatience expecting their long absent children. We were

soon restored to their embraces ; and at their respective rural residences enjoyed the most ineffable sensations of love and friendship in the bosom of tranquillity, in the sweetest season of the year ; with nothing to diminish the joy of returning to our native country but a regret for the absence of those left behind in the torrid zone.

“ O quid solutis est beatius curis !  
Quum mens onus reponit, ac peregrino  
Labore fessi, venimus larem ad nostrum  
Desideratoque, acquiescimus lecto.”—CATULLUS.

“ Ah what so happy as a mind at rest,  
When cares no more lie heavy on the breast ;  
When, tir'd of foreign travel, we return  
To our own country, and at length discern  
The place which first we knew, which most we love,  
And in the bed which nurs'd us, sleep !”—

“OMNIA DEO!”

## CONCLUSION.

Purport of the concluding Chapter—Reflections on the Conversion of the Hindoos—Sentiments of Dr. Johnson—Sir William Jones, Lord Teignmouth, Holwell, and Sir John Mackintosh—Blessings of Christianity in Time and Eternity—Its Benevolence contrasted with the cruel Policy of the Hindoo Religion in various instances — Necessary Moderation in all attempts to Proselyte—The Hindoos compared with the Greeks and Romans when Christianity was preached among them — Religious Sentiments of Socrates, Plato, Seneca, and other eminent Heathens—Appeal for Hindoo Conversion from various motives—Happiness of Christians compared with Unbelievers—Conclusion.

HAVING, by the Divine blessing, been favoured with health and leisure to pursue my allotted task, and finish the selection from my manuscripts and drawings, I now take leave of my readers, in a concluding chapter; which I hope will not be deemed obtrusive, or irrelevant to the general tenor of these volumes. It treats of a subject in which I am warmly interested, and on which my mind is so deeply impressed with the necessity of avowing my sentiments (feeble as may be my endeavours) that I cannot remain in a state of neutrality.

I shall avail myself in its discussion of assistance from the various sources of information which have been lately opened, and now flow in copious streams

through this highly favoured island: which seems to be selected by Infinite Wisdom and Goodness for the preservation of liberty in Europe, and the diffusion of truth and knowledge through the dark regions of the earth; and should I be deemed the humblest instrument in promoting this great design, by any thing which may be offered in the ensuing pages, it will afford me a heartfelt satisfaction, which language could ill express.

It has not been my object, neither have I talents, to discuss the political, commercial, and military systems in British India; the aggrandisement of that part of the empire has of late years been rapid and wonderful. Reverting to the middle of the seventeenth century, we find the English possessions in India consisted of two factories, situated on the banks of the Hugly river; with an ensign's guard of thirty men, stationed there for the protection of property; they were limited to this number by the jealous policy of the emperor Aurungzebe and his predecessors, who would not allow the factors to build even the slightest garden wall, from a fear of its being converted into a fortification. Such was the commencement of the British establishment in Bengal.

In the year 1638, Mr. Langhorne, agent for the English East India Company, purchased the village of Madras-patana, with a small district on the sea-coast of Coromandel, from the Hindoo rajah, for the East India Company. This village was soon after surrounded by a wall, and a castle called Fort St. George was erected there in 1640. This being a purchase, no objection was made to the circumvallation. And from this small beginning arose the extensive dominions now

belonging to the East India Company, under the Presidency of Madras, or Fort St. George.

In less than thirty years after these petty establishments in Bengal and Coromandel, the island of Bombay was ceded to the English, on the marriage of Charles the Second with the princess Catherine of Portugal: this was the foundation of the Bombay government, and all its subsequent appendages on the western side of the Indian peninsula. The whole of these settlements, and every other British factory in India (including those retained in the eastern islands after the cruel massacre of the Company's servants at Amboyna, by the Dutch) were subordinate to the Governor and Council at Surat; established there, with a supreme authority, by the East India Company in England.

It would be foreign to these Memoirs to enter on a detail of the history of the English East India Company, or the aggrandisement of the British nation, in the remote regions of Hindostan. This history became generally interesting about the middle of the eighteenth century, in consequence of the unparalleled cruelty of the nabob of Bengal, and the sufferings of the English in the Black Hole at Calcutta, an event which was soon followed by the memorable battle of Plassey, and other gallant exploits in Bengal, by Robert, Lord Clive, the first of that title; which not only amply revenged the perfidious cruelty of the Mahomedan despot, but gave the Company power, wealth, and territory, in the finest provinces of India, where from a set of licensed foreign merchants they became sovereigns of the country.

The wars which subsisted at that period between

the native princes of India, on the coast of Coromandel, aided by English and French troops, opposed to each other as auxiliaries, under experienced commanders of both nations, and the consequences of such interference to the British nation, are admirably related by Orme, justly styled "the elegant historian of India." The subsequent conquests by other generals, and the more recent victories in which the name of Wellesley\* is so conspicuous, have added an immense domain to the British empire. These invaluable territories, acquired by British valour, are maintained by sound policy, moderation, and justice; the extent of our territorial power and influence excites the wonder of Asia; and the effects are sensibly felt by all the maritime nations of Europe, whose consequence in India declined as the British empire triumphed.

My pen can add no lustre to the exalted character of Marquis Cornwallis; the necessary wars in which he engaged, and the vigorous and comprehensive system which he pursued, brought new acquisitions of wealth and power to his native country. His mild and equitable government was peculiarly adapted to gain the confidence and friendship of the Indian sovereigns; his amiable manners conciliated the respect and affection of the Company's servants in every department; and his benevolent heart dispensed general happiness among all classes of natives in those remote regions.

The high sense entertained of Marquis Wellesley's administration in India, is best expressed in the ener-

\* Duke of Wellington.

getic language of those who so well knew how to appreciate his merits ; it forms part of the address signed by upwards of six hundred European inhabitants of Calcutta, on the Governor-general's departure for England in August 1805.

Nor must I pass over his institution, and paternal care, of the college at Fort William : which, however it may have been condemned by the Court of Directors, or by individuals, for its magnitude and expense, must be allowed to be one of the wisest, and ultimately, perhaps, one of the most philanthropic establishments ever adopted, for promulgating knowledge, literature, and science, throughout an extensive empire, especially in promoting a jurisprudence founded on the principles of the Mahomedan and Hindoo codes, improved by the spirit of those laws which form the glorious constitution of Great Britain.

The luminous administration of a Hastings ; the wise and virtuous governments of a Teignmouth and Cornwallis ; the extensive policy, promptitude, and decision of a Wellesley, united with the military talent and enterprise of a Wellington, have placed those distinguished characters on a glorious eminence. How highly exalted do they appear when opposed to D'Acughna and the unworthy successors of Gama and Albuquerque, the Portuguese conquerors of India ! Those monsters of iniquity, by their rapacity, oppression, and cruelty, brought disgrace and ruin on that once celebrated nation ; the patriotic and benevolent virtues of the delegated administrators of British sovereignty, will endear their names to the latest posterity !

To the preceding characters, I must, in the same spirit of truth and candour, add the eminent names of



Lord Pigot, Lord Macartney, the second Lord Clive, Lord William Bentinck, and their successors in the respective governments of India; who will be recorded in history as bright examples of British virtue, co-operating with the supreme administration in conducting the Asiatic empire; which, commencing with a few Banians and factors in a mercantile warehouse, now extends over an immense territory, inhabited by nearly one hundred millions of people!

A variety of opinions prevails, both in Europe and Asia, respecting the introduction of Christianity into India: it is a subject which has been frequently alluded to in these volumes: some able writers maintain there is no necessity for extending its influence to those remote regions: one asserts, that "*on the broad basis of its own merits, the Hindoo system little needs the meliorating hand of Christian dispensations, to render its votaries a sufficiently correct and moral people, for all the purposes of civil society.*" After extolling the religion and morality of the Hindoos, he adds, "*whenever the Christian religion does as much for the lower orders of society in Europe, as that of Brahma appears to have done for the Hindoos, he shall certainly vote for its establishment in Hindostan.*"

This may certainly be the opinion of a few individuals; but it never can be considered as the prevailing sentiment of the British nation. One of its brightest intellectual luminaries, emphatically styled the Colossus of literature, thought very differently; and I trust his powerful language conveys the decided opinion of thousands, and tens of thousands, who truly estimate the value of Christianity:

“I did not expect to hear that it could be a question amongst Christians, whether any nation, uninstructed in religion, should receive instruction; or whether that instruction should be imparted to them by a translation of the Holy Books into their own language. If obedience to the will of God be necessary to happiness, and knowledge of His will be necessary to obedience, I know not how he that withholds this knowledge or delays it, can be said to love his neighbour as himself. He that voluntarily continues ignorant, is guilty of all the crimes which ignorance produces; as to him that should extinguish the tapers of a light-house, might justly be imputed the calamities of shipwreck. Christianity is the highest perfection of humanity; and as no man is good but as he wishes the good of others, no man can be good in the highest degree, who wishes not to others the largest measure of the greatest good. To omit for a year, or for a day, the most efficacious method of advancing Christianity, in compliance with any purposes that terminate on this side of the grave, is a crime of which I know not that the world has yet had an example.”\*

In minutely describing the tenets and influence of the Hindoo religion, in a chapter mostly written at Chandode in the Brahminical solitudes on the banks of the Nerbudda, as well as in many other pages of these Memoirs, I alluded to a question which has been often asked me by wise and good men both in Europe and Asia. “What benefit will the Hindoos derive from being converted to Christianity? Why should we not leave them as we found them?” To this ques-

\* Dr. Johnson.

tion I answer in the strong and expressive language of a member of the Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews, to a similar one addressed to him concerning this extraordinary people; that by their conversion to Christianity, the Hindoos would be freed from the slavery of a mass of absurd and superstitious traditions, by which they are at present held in the greatest intellectual bondage: that they would be restored to the enjoyment of those blessed privileges and consolations contained in the favour and communion of God: and above all, that they would, by a reception of the truths of Christianity, have a certainty of that eternal salvation which we are taught to expect *only* through the name, merits, and sufferings of Jesus Christ.

The unprejudiced mind will allow that a real Christian has, at least, as much charity and liberality of sentiment, as the Deist or Unitarian: he embraces all mankind as his brethren, and strives to render them as happy as himself; but he certainly views the most important of all concerns very differently from a modern philosopher. His mind having, by divine grace, been prepared for the awful truths of Christianity, he is assured, that without this knowledge all other acquisitions are comparatively of trifling importance.

I now, therefore, come to the principal point intended in this conclusion; and with a desire to obviate any objection which may arise from a seeming alteration of my opinion of the Hindoo character, from that given in the former part of these Memoirs, it may be necessary again to remark, that my sentiments changed progressively, as I became more acquainted with the higher castes of Hindoos. There was a time when I

loved and venerated the character of a Brahmin, leading a tranquil, innocent, and studious life, under the sacred groves which surrounded his temple.

When I visited the Hindoo villages in the Concan, and enjoyed the pleasant interview with Ragojee Angria and Govindsett, mentioned on my journey through that district, I was charmed with the simple manners of the Brahmins, the liberal sentiments of the prince and his philanthropic vizier, the venerable Mahomedan at Ram-Rajah, and many other amiable characters, replete with novelty and interest. I wrote from first impressions, in the same manner as I afterwards portrayed the natives of Malabar, and the inhabitants of Surat and the northern cities, where I occasionally resided; especially while sojourning in the Mahratta camp, and travelling to Ahmedabad, through the delightful province of Guzerat. In my letters on those occasions, I related events as they occurred, without much reflection, or comparison with other countries. Every incident had the charm of novelty; and, like some other travellers, I might have viewed passing events superficially, and formed hasty conclusions.

In subsequent situations, particularly when collector of Dhuboy, and acting as judge in that district, I had much greater opportunities of scrutinizing the Hindoo character. In this investigation my opinion materially changed, and a further intercourse with the religious Brahmins at Dhuboy and Chandode, did not raise them in my estimation. Nor did the moral conduct of the Yogees, Senassees, and other devotees frequenting the jattaras of the Nerbudda, prejudice me in their favour. But when I developed the character of the secular Brahmins and Hindoos of various de-

scriptions, employed in the revenue department, from the consequential zemindar to the village patell, how was I astonished ! Their cruelty, avarice, craftiness, and duplicity, occasioned a thousand grievances, which I could neither counteract nor redress ; and displayed such shocking traits, rooted and strengthened by religious opinions, prejudice of caste, and habits of oppression, as baffled all my endeavours to relieve the poor ryots, suffering under their tyranny. I mentioned these things as they occurred ; they were written at the moment, and are so fully confirmed by enlightened French and English travellers, during the two last centuries, that I hazard nothing in differing from the representations of other writers, who, I doubt not, from the best motives, have spoken so very favourably of the Hindoos.

To avoid repetition, I shall only make a few short extracts from the most respectable writers on the Hindoo character. Such assistance is necessary, when philosophers and sceptics are endeavouring to undermine Christianity, and exalt Paganism. It then behoves every person who has acquired a knowledge of those Pagans, and been happily taught the truths of the Gospel, to support religion, purity, and virtue, against priestcraft, superstition, and error. To those advocates for Hinduism, I must, in the first instance, oppose the high authority of Sir William Jones, whose judgment and impartiality are universally acknowledged. In the preface to his *Institutes of Menu*, this learned orientalist allows that code to possess “a spirit of sublime devotion, benevolence, and tenderness to all sentient creatures ;” but adds, “This code is also a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed

limited by law, but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks. It is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy ; and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconceptions."

Such is the decision of Sir William Jones, one of the most amiable benevolent men that ever existed ; partial to oriental manners, literature, and poetry, from early youth ; and formed, in all respects, especially from his long judicial experience, for those researches which were his grand pursuit in India. Sir James Mackintosh likewise, speaking of Sir William Jones, remarks, that he reluctantly confesses the general depravity of the natives, and particularly the prevalence of perjury ; and, upon a further acquaintance with the Indian character, this excellent Recorder, most upright of judges, and most accurate of observers, says, "I trust we shall one day have the unspeakable satisfaction of reflecting, that we have not only discharged those duties which preserve the order of civil society ; but that, by a firm though moderate execution of just laws, we may have contributed in some slight degree, within the narrow sphere of our influence, to revive those *moral sentiments* which every where naturally spring up in the human heart, but which seem so long to have languished in the breasts of the inhabitants of India."

Lord Teignmouth, a character most truly amiable and respectable, observes, from a personal knowledge of the Hindoos, "Individuals in India are often irritated, by petty provocations, to the commission of acts which no provocation can justify ; the result of vindictive

pride, and ungoverned violence of temper." On a former occasion I mentioned Governor Holwell's decided opinion, that "the Gentoos are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious, litigious, and wretched a people as any in the known world ; and especially in the common run of Brahmins."

Dr. Francis Buchanan, who was selected by Marquis Wellesley, governor-general of India, to ascertain the state of arts, agriculture, religion, &c. in different parts of Hindostan, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, confirms all that has been said of the humiliating and cruel treatment of the Sudra caste by the Brahmins ; and I fear this assertion of Dr. Claudius Buchanan is but too justly founded : "The Hindoos are destitute of those principles of honesty, truth, and justice, which respond to the spirit of British administration, and have not a disposition which is accordant with the tenor of Christian principles."

I will add no more on the subject of Hindoo depravity ; nor, in contrasting it with Christianity, shall I speak of that blessed *Catholicism* on a limited scale, but place it on the broad basis of divine and human love ; its grand objects being to reconcile fallen man to his offended Creator, through the mediation of a Redeemer ; and by ennobling his views, enable him to sustain the glorious character of a candidate for eternity ; that while passing the probationary period of time, he may make a proper estimate between the transitory nature of earthly enjoyments, and the happiness which awaits the virtuous in regions of bliss, without satiety, and without end. In such an estimate, engrafted on the principle of faith, hope, and charity, how is the soul raised above sublunary pursuits ! how

degraded is vice, however gilded by wealth, or sanctioned by fashion; how triumphant is virtue, however forsaken or obscure! Animated by such a prospect, how trifling are the vanities of time, compared with the Christian's everlasting inheritance! To the young and thoughtless, in the morning of life, when the roses of health bloom, and pleasure presents her enticing cup, these may appear unimportant observations; but when the shadows lengthen, the flowers fade, and the mellifluous beverage is exhausted; we see the value of religion, and estimate the wisdom of those who purchase that pearl of price, whose merchandize is better than silver, and the gain thereof than fine gold! I always read the affecting passage in Pliny's letter to Calastrius on the death of Corellius, with renewed pleasure. But it is a pleasure mingled with deep concern. There is not a sentiment in it which I do not feel, from having experienced a similar deprivation. When the noble Roman sues to his friend for *some uncommon consolation, something he had never known nor read of*, how do we wish he had been acquainted with one of those early martyrs in the Christian church, whom as proconsul of Bythinda, he was then persecuting.

The Earl of Orrery pronounces Pliny to have been one of the best and one of the greatest men that any age has produced; second to none in virtue, equal to most in accomplishments; of high worth by his ancestors, but more ennobled by himself. Yet to this dignified Roman, so eminently great and good, the humblest *Christian* in the season of doubt and distress, would exultingly exclaim, "I know that my Redeemer liveth! that he hath brought life and immortality to light; and that



where he is, there shall his followers be." It would be very easy to produce examples from Eugenius, the Roman pontiff, from the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and many other sovereigns ; from the Cardinals Beaufort, Wolsey, Richelieu, and Mazarine, and from men in every distinguished situation, whose dying testimony bore witness to the vanity of their former pursuits. Solomon's pathetic motto confirmed the vain regrets of these exalted characters at the termination of their career. They had attained the summit of their ambition ; but great was their disappointment, and affecting their confessions at the last awful hour, which every child of Adam must experience.

At that solemn hour, when the fascinations of pleasure, wealth, and power cease, when the drama of life draws to a close, and all its phantoms retire, then shall we experience the excellence of religion, and enjoy that heavenly peace, that divine consolation, which no power on earth can give nor take away, proceeding from Him who has promised never to leave us nor forsake us ; from Him who loved us unto death ; and before he drank his own bitter cup, promised to send a Comforter to his disciples, not only then, but in all future periods of the world.

This is neither an imaginary representation nor the language of enthusiasm ; these divine consolations have been experienced amid the arduous trials of life, and enjoyed at the awful hour of death, by Bacon, Locke, Newton, Boerhave, Pascal, Fenelon, Massillon, Hale, Boyle, Lyttelton, and many of the most dignified characters in history ; nor have they shone less conspicuous in female life. They supported Jane, queen of Navarre, the second Mary of England, the ladies

Grey and Russell, in their trying dispensations; and all the eminently pious women in British biography, have felt their benign influence, from the imperial throne to the peasant's cottage! Shall not such characters be opposed to those Hindoo females, who from educational tenets and custom of caste, have been taught that no sacrifice is allowed to women, apart from their husbands; no religious rite, no fasting; as far only as a wife honours her husband, so far is she exalted in heaven: and that no other effectual duty is known for virtuous women, after the death of their lords, than to cast themselves into the fire.

When we consider the laws and established usages or the Hindoos, of what signification are the absorptions, reveries, and mystical intercourse which the religious Brahmins and *twice-born* men, are supposed to hold with the Deity? Allowing that some of those devotees, soaring beyond idol-worship, and even above the adoration of the Hindoo Triad, *Brama*, *Visnoo*, and *Seeva*, (in the attributes of creator, preserver, and destroyer,) are by solemn meditation permitted to hold communion with the great mysterious spirit OM, or AUM; that name, which, according to those best versed in the Hindoo theology, is declared to be so sacred, that to hear it uttered by one of an inferior caste is dreadful to the ear of a Brahmin; while Major Moor mentions that an English gentleman having the letters and the sound of the Gayatri, something similar to the word Aum, and without knowing the result, beginning to recite it audibly in the presence of a pious pundit, the astonished Brahmin stopped his ears, and hastened terrified from his presence. Allowing, I say, this spiritual worship, and these sub-

lime conceptions, to the Brahmins, which is every thing that can be expected, how few among fifty millions of Hindoos are admitted to this high privilege ! how few, comparatively, even worship the triad deity, to whom the Supreme Being is supposed to have delegated his power, from being himself removed above all concern for his creatures ! Julius Cæsar assigns it as a reason why the ancient Druids would not allow their laws to be committed to writing, that their mysteries might not be rendered common to the vulgar, and profaned by them. The same pride and uncharitableness, pervading the institutes of Menu, enjoins that “if a Suder reads the Vedas to either of the other three castes, or listens to them, heated oil, wax, and melted tin, shall be poured into his ears, and the orifice stopped up ; and that if a Suder gets the scriptures by heart, he shall be put to death.”

How different is this rejection from the gracious invitation by the evangelical prophet : “Ho ! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters ; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat ; yea come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price !”—Isaiah, ch. lv. ver. 1. How opposite is this cruel distinction of the Brahmins, to these gentle words of the benevolent Saviour : “Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest ! Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven !”—St. Matt. ch. xi. ver. 28.

Of all modern writers on the subject of Hindoo conversion, I confess myself to be most pleased with the mildness, liberality, and moderation of Lord Valentia. His good sense, nice discrimination, and a knowledge of the Anglo-Indian character, as well as

some acquaintance with the prejudices of the Hindoos, are evident to every man who has spent a few years in India.

He says, in every view, political as well as religious, it is highly desirable that men of liberal education and exemplary piety should be employed; who, by their manners, would improve the tone of society in which they lived, and by the sacredness of their character operate as a check on the tendency to licentiousness that too frequently prevails.

“The splendor of episcopal worship should be maintained in India in the highest degree our church allows. On the natives, accustomed to ceremonial pomp, and greatly swayed by external appearances, it would impress that respect for our religion, of which, I am sorry to say, they are chiefly by our neglect of it at present destitute. The natural effect of which has been to excite a doubt, in the mind of the Hindoo, of our own belief in that faith we are so anxious to press upon him.

“The native inhabitants may, indeed, from the sight of one solitary church, believe that we have a national religion, but I know of nothing that can give this information to the rest of our eastern subjects. Whilst the Mussulman conquerors of India have established mosques in every town of their dominions, the traveller, after quitting Calcutta, must seek in vain for any such mark of the religion of their successors.”

That my opinions however do not entirely coincide with those of Lord Valentia respecting the insurmountable difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of converting the Brahmins and higher orders of Hindoos, is evi-

dent throughout these volumes ; the cause of my differing arises not only from my own observation in India, but from what we know is now actually taking place in favour of Christianity among the Brahmins themselves.

It must be acknowledged by all, who know how much religion intermingles with the general system of the Hindoos, and pervades the minutest parts of their domestic economy, that the difficulty of converting a man of high caste to Christianity is very great. Such an one must, in every sense, literally fulfil our Saviour's words ; he must leave father and mother, brethren and sisters, wife and children, houses and lands, when he becomes his disciple ; this is the cross he must take up, the trial he must endure ; he must be despised and rejected by his former associates, an outcast from his family and friends. The sacrifice, though great, is transient ; the recompence glorious and everlasting. Such sacrifices have been made, and are now greatly increasing. Many Brahmins of distinction, who had not previously lost their caste, but on the contrary were looked up to with veneration and love, have *embraced Christianity*. The annals of the pious *Swartz*, the anecdotes of Dr. Claudius Buchanan, and the labours of many zealous and prudent ministers in the Danish mission, prove this assertion. See Ananda, a learned and respectable Brahmin, now become an eminent Christian convert, translating the New Testament into the Telinga dialect ! Behold Sattienaden, a Hindoo disciple of *Swartz*, preaching the Gospel in the language of *Tamul* ! Sabat, the Arabian, transporting the evangelical books to the gates of *Mecca*, and planting Christianity among the

tribes of *Yemen*: while Mirza promulgates celestial truth throughout the extensive regions of *Persia*! When we contemplate so many Syriac churches in Travencore, which have existed more than a thousand years, under a regular establishment, unaided by European hierarchies, and encompassed by idolatrous nations; when we advert to the patronage given to consistent missionaries by the rajah of Mysore, and other Hindoo sovereigns, we cannot any longer suppose the conversion of the Hindoos impossible.

I have hitherto confined myself to human means, but what are all subordinate agents, compared with the last command of the great Founder of Christianity? "Go ye, and teach all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and, lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world!"—St. Matt. ch. xxviii. ver. 19, 20. If the compassionate Redeemer, who gave this command, and promised to continue with his future teachers, shall bless the present endeavour, if the Lord gives the word, and the Spirit of Truth influences the company of preachers, no earthly power can withstand the heavenly mission; no prince of darkness, no apostatizing emperor, can prevail against it. If the Desire of all Nations is once more to appear in the east, if now is the appointed time, the worship of *Boodha* shall cease, the shrines of Brahma be forsaken, and the idols of India fall to the ground, as did those of Greece and Rome in the apostolic age!

I cannot enter into metaphysical discussions on the tenets adopted by different Christian churches. There

is great beauty and simplicity in the expression of a royal teacher, who well knew the truth of his assertion, "The entrance of thy words giveth light: it giveth understanding unto the *simple*."—Psalm, cxix. ver. 130. That the poor and simple Hindoos, more than the wise and learned in the higher tribes, now engage my warmest attention, I candidly acknowledge. That the Sudra and Chandala, now deprived of all religious instruction, (by an artificial and cruel degradation of caste) may be taught the plain and simple truths of Christianity, I earnestly plead: for the temporal and eternal welfare of millions of British subjects who do not share in the common blessings of life enjoyed by the Negroes and Hottentots of Africa, and who are deprived of every religious consolation, I become an advocate! I know the pride and arrogance of the Brahmins must and will militate against every attempt for their liberation: "Procul, O! procul, este profani!" has always been an exclamation among a certain description of people from Virgil to the present day.

Much has been said respecting compelling the Hindoos to relinquish the privileges of caste, and embrace a religion which puts all men upon a level. In the first place, it is to be hoped that no compulsion will ever be allowed in the system of their conversion; and in the next, although it be admitted that Christianity in one sense does reduce the whole human race to the same standard, yet in every other, the divine and moral precepts of the Gospel enjoin the Christian, in all situations, to "give tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour." Even regarding the distinctions of meat and drink, the keeping of particular days, non-

essentials in religion, nothing can be more liberal or gentle than the admonition of the great Apostle to the Gentiles : “ Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations: for one believeth that he may eat all things; another who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth; for God hath received him. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike: let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Let us not therefore judge one another any more; for I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him *it is* unclean. Let us, therefore, follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost!”—Romans, ch. xiv. ver. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14, 17, 19.

On a fair comparison then between the Christian and the Hindoo religions, what candid mind can hesitate to pronounce in favour of the former? The religion of Him, who saith, “ Look unto me, and be saved, all ye ends of the earth!”—Isaiah, ch. xlv. ver. 22,—is one of pious resolves and holy energies, which are not confined to the Brahminical groves, nor the cloisters of a monastery; but are to be found in the heart of every real Christian, who knows that his body is the temple of the Holy Spirit: and that, assisted by divine grace, it is in his power, from that in-dwelling principle, to perform the relative duties of society, to enjoy the innocent pleasures of life, and at



the same time to find himself, at solemn seasons, exalted above this fading scene, in celestial intercourse with his Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier!

Under such a view, shall it any longer be said that the Hindoos, who are in a state of spiritual darkness, and practise crimes of the most atrocious nature, do not need the blessings of Christianity? or that their moral and religious codes, even if accompanied by their enjoined virtues, place them above those nations to whom the apostles were immediately sent? Are the inactive Brahmins, the idle yogeas, the oppressive duans, and cruel zemindars, superior to the active minister of the Ethiopian queen, to whom an evangelist was commissioned to explain the prophecies, and to baptize in the name of that Saviour whom he wished to know and love? Are they coequal with Cornelius of Cæsarea, whose prayers and alms ascended as a memorial before God, whose household was composed of good men, and on whom devout soldiers waited continually? In the opinion of modern unbelievers, such a character needed no conversion; he stood firm on a rock, surrounded by his virtues. But we must not be governed by man's opinion. The Almighty beheld the Roman centurion in a different light, and miraculously sent a messenger to teach him a better way; to proclaim the remission of sins through that name alone whereby we can be saved.

There could not be a more zealous worshipper of God than Saul of Tarsus, under a dispensation which came from heaven, by signs and wonders, and a combination of every thing to render it sublime and awful; yet in his memorable journey to Damascus, the Redeemer of man, having then fulfilled the law, intro-

duced a new dispensation, ascended into heaven, and appeared in a wonderful manner to this zealous champion for Judaism. While he was breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the Christian church, the great Head of that church suddenly arrested him in his career, and sent him, as a chosen vessel, to bear his name before the Gentiles, and to preach his Gospel to kings and people; especially to the polished nations of Greece and Rome, whose philosophers believed in the unity of God as much as the absorbed Brahmin, or *twice-born man*, among their devotees; but where the mass of the people were, like the Hindoos, given up to polytheism, idolatry, and pagan darkness.

And it is granting, perhaps, more than is required, to allow the Hindoos at large to be in the same condition as the Jews, “to whom appertained the adoption, and the glory, the covenant and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came!”—Romans, ch. ix. ver. 45. Yet, after all this superiority over every other nation, the Apostle most ardently prays for Israel, that they might be saved by the Gospel of Christ; because, although they had a zeal of God, it was not according to knowledge: and then, in the true catholic spirit of that Gospel he was so peculiarly selected to preach to the Gentiles, he declares that whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. This is followed by those questions on which we must now lay the great stress of this argument: “How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? How shall they hear without a preacher? And

how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace!"—Romans, ch. x. 14, 15.

At Athens, then the most refined and elegant city in the world, the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers brought him unto the Areopagus; where, publicly condemning their ignorance and superstition, he says, on beholding their devotions, he had found an altar erected to the Unknown God! "Him therefore, whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you; God that made the world, and all things therein; seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing; seeing he giveth to all, life, and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men; and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us; for in Him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art, and man's device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth all men every where to repent; because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he raised him from the dead."—Acts, ch. xvii. ver. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

Had a man the power of Demosthenes, or the elo-

quence of Tully, what could he say more than the Apostle preached in this short discourse before the wisest men of Greece? It is equally applicable to the Brahmins, and all their deluded followers: for we must not be guided by the opinion of certain modern philosophers, or the superficial observers of local manners and customs in foreign countries; but we must repair to the unerring standard of truth; there we shall see in what these *applauded Brahmins* are deficient: and not them only, but their advocates of every description, who, in a Christian country, set up the oriental standard of holiness. We shall there also see the situation of Voltaire and his disciples in the eyes of a pure and holy God! for, without redeeming love, and the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit, what is man? What he is by nature we know from the lives and conduct of the human race, throughout the annals of time. We behold our first ancestor fallen from innocence into a labyrinth of woe, living to see one of his children murder the other. From that unhappy commencement the page of history affords every variety of character. Sailing down the stream of time, we view his posterity, from Nimrod to the Macedonian hero, destroying their fellow-creatures, and sometimes weeping because there were no more worlds to conquer; from Alexander to Cæsar, to Charles of Sweden, and to the present eventful period, we behold the conquerors of the earth pursuing the same career, to end in the same disappointment! In the revolving ages of near six thousand years, if we except the wise and virtuous few, of whatever rank in life, or under whatever religious dispensation; what a picture do we behold!

“Sight so deform'd, what heart of rock could long  
Dry-eyed behold? Adam could not, but wept,  
Though not of woman born: compassion quell'd  
His best of man; and gave him up to tears.” MILTON.

I cannot suppose the advocates for Hinduism intend to exalt their favourites above the nations of antiquity. If this humble essay is insufficient to prove their inferiority, many intelligent writers have established the fact; nor can it be deemed irrelevant to produce a few incontrovertible instances from ancient history on this important subject. They are the sentiments of heathens, whose doctrine and practice exalt them in the scale of piety and virtue far beyond many who are called Christians in the present day.

Xenophon thus records the solemn counsel of Socrates to Aristodemus, who doubted of a Providence, and even of a Deity. “O Aristodemus, apply yourself sincerely to worship GOD; he will *enlighten* you, and then all your doubts will be removed.” This divine philosopher, after having drank the deadly poison decreed by unjust judges, in the memorable discourse with his disciples, asserts, “that the soul which cannot die, merits all the moral and intellectual improvements which we can possibly give it. A spirit formed to live for ever, should be making continual advances in virtue and wisdom. To a well cultivated mind, the body is no more than a temporary prison. At death, such a soul is conducted by its invisible guardian to the heights of empyrean felicity, where it becomes a fellow-commoner with the wise and good of all ages.” How noble is the sentiment of Plato, a disciple worthy of Socrates, who placed the

sovereign good in a resemblance to the Divine Nature, which can flow from God alone! "As nothing is like the sun, but by the solar influences: so nothing can resemble God, but by an emanation of divine light into the soul!" These sublime sentiments of the Grecian philosophers were confirmed by Seneca, one of the brightest ornaments of ancient Rome: who says, "What other canst thou think this internal monitor, than God dwelling in the body of man?" and again, "No man is good without God; he dwelleth in every good man. If thou seest a man fearless in the midst of dangers, untainted by riches, happy in adversity, calm in the tempest, looking down as from an eminence on all things sublunary,—dost thou not admire him? Sayest thou not, Virtue is of all things the most great and noble; it is a divine power descended from above? There is a *Holy Spirit* residing in us, who watches and observes good and evil men, and will treat us after the same manner that we treat him."—SEN. EP. 41.

How would such men, with Aristotle, Cicero, and the other worthies of antiquity, have estimated the Gospel! What would have been the joy of Confucius, and many oriental teachers, had they been favoured with those divine revelations which are rejected by modern deists! Shall there then be advocates for paganism in a Christian nation, once sunk in greater barbarism than the Hindoos? a nation rescued by the blessing of Christianity from druidical slavery, from sacrificing her children on the unhallowed fires of their sanguinary deities, and all the darkness of idolatry; and restored to reason, to light, and immortality, by that Gospel, emphatically styled the Light of the

Gentiles? Shall there be advocates for withholding the truth from distant regions, composing so valuable a part of the British empire, from millions of fellow-subjects who add so much to her comfort, wealth, and luxury; establishing an intercourse by which this "*Island of bliss*," this seat of commerce, maintains thousands of her industrious sons on foreign shores, and covers the ocean with her sails? Shall that nation, influenced by the noblest motives, emancipate the helpless Africans from bodily slavery, and liberally promote their moral civilization and religious improvement, and leave her Asiatic subjects, shrouded in pagan darkness, in bondage to their *destructive powers*, as some of their deities are truly named? shall she conceal from them the knowledge of Christianity, which is the very cause and support of her own happiness and glory? I shall, I am confident, be supported by the wise and good of every description, in my assertion that Great Britain, amidst the storms and convulsions which have humbled the continent of Europe, and degraded her princes, has been upheld by the arm of Omnipotence, and considered as a *Zoar* by virtuous foreigners; because she is a nation where the Christian religion is preserved; where for more than fifty years it shone the brightest jewel in the diadem of a beloved venerable monarch; and pervading every rank in society, adorned the palace of his nobles, and the cottage of his peasants!

I am aware of numerous exceptions to this delightful portrait. To their own master, such must individually stand or fall: from them the light of truth is not withheld; they have been enlisted under

the banner of Christ, and baptized in his name, but allured by various temptations, and led astray by delusive suggestions, they have deserted the sacred standard, and given themselves up to a fading world. To such persons it is hoped the hour of reflection will arrive ere it be too late; that awaking them from a fatal slumber to a sincere repentance, they may follow the example of a Rochester, a Gardiner, and other eminent converts, in walking worthy of their high and holy vocation. If this desirable change does not commence in their present state of existence, they must be left to HIM who seeth not as man seeth, and has said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged!"

It will not be deemed uncharitable to suppose such persons have not a clear knowledge of Christianity; that they annex certain speculative ideas, which do not appertain to its nature; and therefore, from not understanding its doctrines, they do not practise its virtues. Under one delusion, they say it prohibits the pleasures and enjoyments of this world; discourages the love of fame and glory, and weakens the noblest energies of human action. Another fatal error induces them to set aside the justice, and trust all to the mercy of that God who has declared no unclean thing shall enter into his kingdom. Did they search the Scriptures, and humbly meditate on the Word of God, they would find all the divine attributes to be in perfect harmony; they would know, by happy experience, that under the Gospel dispensation, "Mercy and Truth are met together, Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other."—Psalm lxxxv. v. 10. They would see that Christianity does not extinguish the love of fame, the noblest sublunary reward for patriotic



virtue; but that it enables its votaries to soar beyond worldly honours, to a crown of glory, unfading, eternal in the heavens! Here, the laurels of the victor, and the wreath of the patriot, often droop from the breath of slander, and wither by the blast of envy: nor, in their best estate, can they long encircle an earthly brow; but the crown which awaits the Christian hero is celestial and everlasting!

Neither does the Christian religion abolish the natural desires and propensities of the human heart; it only purifies the principle, and defines their limits. It is no enemy to pleasure, but chastens and moderates its alluring tendencies. If an earthly parent delights to see his children happy, surely our heavenly Father is pleased to see that heart cheerful which he accepts as his sacrifice. "My son, give me thy heart," Proverbs, chap. xxiii. ver. 26, is the divine request. The Israelitish monarch, in a state of penitence and humiliation, says, "the sacrifice of God is a broken heart, and a contrite spirit," Psalm l. ver 17; such must be the language of every sincere penitent, when he knows the consequence of sin, and beholds the loving-mercy of his offended Maker. But the Word of Truth, which cannot be divided, (nor like the Hindoo Sastras be mutilated for various purposes, suited to different castes,) proves that God has given us all things richly to enjoy. In this sublunary sphere there is a tranquil path, untrodden by the disciples of Epicurus, and little known to the philosophers of the Stoa, shaded by umbrageous trees, with lovely blossoms and delicious fruits.

This is that walk on which the Christian pilgrim may safely tread; that happy medium which Stoics and Epicureans missed in ancient times, and phi-

losophers and libertines equally mistake in the present day ; it is the path of piety and virtue, which led to the *summum bonum* of Plato and Socrates, and conducts the Christian to the throne of God and the Lamb ! There we shall find stability and peace ; in every deviation from it turbulence, fluctuation, and vanity !

O ! how does the Christian character ennoble man ! Like the sun, he rises to warm and enlighten all that come within the influence of his rays ; in imitation of his divine master, he goes about doing good ; he knows that the end of the law is love, and while he contributes to the happiness of others, he secures it within his own bosom. But conscious that clouds and vapours often intercept the brightest beams, he endeavours to anticipate that blissful empyrean, where there shall be a morning without clouds, a day without night, and the Sun of peace and felicity shall shine for ever ! Such is the path which convinces us that the Christian has joys with which a stranger intermeddleth not ; that he has meat to eat which the world knows not of. To those who have not enjoyed the refined delight of love and friendship, how can they be described ? to those who have not experienced the consolations of piety, in the sweet intercourse between the soul of man and his God, how can human language make them known ?

When Christianity was first promulgated, the glory of the world had reached its acme. The empires of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Egypt, were annihilated ; Rome reigned triumphant ; the nations obeyed her sway. The temple of Janus was shut, and the peaceful olive extended over the civilized world. Art and science flourished, and so superior was that æra for human learning, that in the annals of literature it is

eminently distinguished as the Augustan age; yet, so transcendant were the blessings of the Gospel, that then the Saviour of the world was born, and the blessings of his kingdom dispensed; then the angelic choir proclaimed, "Glory to God on high, on earth peace, good-will towards men;"—St. Luke, ch. ii. ver. 14; then were those illustrious Romans, those enlightened nations, to be converted to Christianity, and become the disciples of the Messiah, in confirmation of the ancient prophecy, that the Gentiles should come to his light, and kings to the brightness of his rising. Pagan darkness was now to be dispelled, and their idols to be demolished: then was that spiritual kingdom to be established, in which there is "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all!"—Ephesians, ch. iv. ver. 5, 6.

Allowing, therefore, the religion and morality of the Hindoos to equal that of the Greeks and Romans at this memorable period, shall we deprive them of the divine truths and consolations which were commanded to be preached to those enlightened people! Shall we keep our Asiatic brethren from the fold of that heavenly Shepherd who laid down his life for his sheep, and declared that he had "other sheep, which were not of that fold? them also he must bring, and there should be one fold, under one shepherd!"—St. John, ch. x. ver. 16.

Let not an ardent desire for the conversion of the Hindoos be deemed a zeal without knowledge. The end is great, noble, and eternal!—the means I do not enter upon. We have liberally introduced our arts and sciences, as far as they choose to adopt them; we have given them wise, just, and humane laws, assim-

lating as much as possible with their own manners and customs; we have taught them to estimate the blessings of liberty and the security of property. O let us also confer upon them the blessings of true religion from the Revelations of God! the light of the eternal Sun of Righteousness: those heavenly truths, which in prosperity are the delight and the shield of her votary, and in adversity, his support and consolation; which add a zest to his sweetest cup, and extract the wormwood and gall from his bitterest draught; which add a lustre to the splendor of a palace, and cheer the dungeon's gloom.

*Stanmore Hill, 1st May,  
1812.*

“ On piety, humanity is built;  
And on humanity, much happiness;  
And yet still more on piety itself.  
A soul in commerce with her God, is heaven;  
Feels not the tumults and the shocks of life;  
The whirls of passion, and the strokes of heart!  
    A Deity believ'd, is joy begun;  
    A Deity ador'd, is joy advanced;  
    A Deity belov'd, is joy matured!  
Each branch of piety delight inspires:  
Faith builds a bridge from this world to the next,  
O'er death's dark gulf, and all its horror hides:  
Praise, the sweet exhalation of our joy,  
That joy exalts, and makes it sweeter still:  
Prayer ardent opens Heaven, lets down a stream  
Of glory on the consecrated hour  
Of man, in audience with the Deity!  
Who worships the GREAT God, that instant joins  
The first in heaven, and sets his foot on hell!”

YOUNG.



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